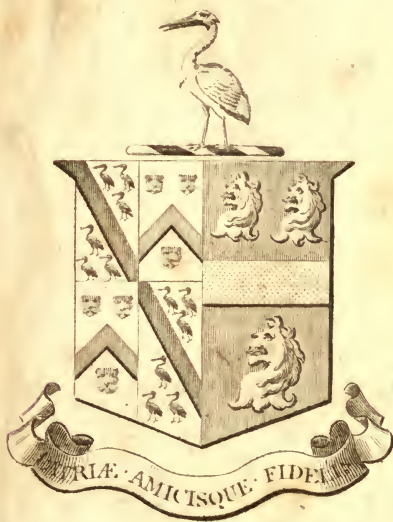


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St. George's River and St. Mark's River

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Toleration

DISCUSS'D;
IN TWO
DIALOGUES.

I. Betwixt a **Conformist**, and a **Non-Conformist**; Laying open the *Impiety*, and *Danger* of a **General Liberty**.

II. Betwixt a **Presbyterian**, and an **Independent**; Concluding, upon an *Impartial Examination* of their *Respective Practises*, and *Opinions*, in Favour of the **Independent**.

Vae vobis, Hypocritae!

L O N D O N,

Printed by E. C. and A. C. for Henry Brome
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End of *St. Paul's*. 1670.

713703

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Tole-

Toleration Discuss'd,

By way of Dialogue betwixt a

CONFORMIST,

AND A

NON-CONFORMIST.

Conformist. **L**iberty of Conscience, or, No Liberty of Conscience, is the Question. What is Conscience?

Non-conformist. Conscience is (a) *Judicium Hominis de Semetipso, prout sub-jicitur Judicio Dei.* (b) The Judgment that a Man makes of Himself and his Actions, with reference to the future Judgment of God. Or otherwise, (c) It is An Ability in the Understanding of Man, by a Reflex Act to Judge of Himself in all he does, as to his Acceptance, or Rejection with God. *Rutherford* makes it to be (d) A Power of the Practical Understanding, according to which the Man is obliged and directed to give Judgment of Himself; that is, Of His State and Condition, and of all his Acti-

(a) Amicus de Consci.
(b) Indulg. & Toler. p. 13.
(c) Liberty of Conscience upon its true and proper Grounds, p. 3.
(d) Free Disputation, p. 3.

B

ons,

Toleration Discuss'd.

ons, Inclinations, Thoughts, and Words.

C. If this be *Conscience*, Then *Liberty of Conscience* is *A Liberty of a Man's Judging of Himself, and his Actions, with reference to the future Judgment of God.*

N. C. Right: But then he is bound likewise to Practise according to that Indulg. & Judgment, and To Worship God according to the Light and Understanding which he hath, of What is that Worship which is Acceptable with him, in Matter and Manner, and not otherwise. Toler. p. 13.

C. So that your *Liberty of Conscience* is now come to *Liberty of Practise*. Indeed I could wish that the Advocates for *Liberty* would be a little more Candid in this business. They take wonderful Pains (many of Them) to prove, That *Conscience cannot be forc'd; It is out of the Reach of Humane Power; God never appointed any Judge of it; Shall any Man pretend to make me believe, That which I cannot believe?* (And the like) Pressing the Argument, as if That were the very Pinch of the Case, which is just Nothing at all to the Point in Controversie. It is obvious to Common Reason, that This Suggestion cannot but create very dangerous and unquiet Thoughts in the People: For if they be denied *Liberty of Conscience* (in

Toleration Discuss'd.

3

(in the plain and honest *English* of it)
They suffer under the most Barbarous, and
Ridiculous Persecution, that ever yet ap-
pear'd upon the face of the Earth. But
on the other side, If their claim be
stretch'd to *Liberty of Practise*, It seems
not only unreasonable, but utterly Incon-
sistent, both with *Christianity* it self, and
the Publique Peace.

SECTION I.

UNIVERSAL TOLERATION *too Wide, and Unlawful.*

C. **L**iberty of Conscience (as you have
stated it) is *An Universal Tole-*
ration for People to say and do what they
please, under the Warrant and Pretext of
Conscience.

N. C. That is to say, In Matters
properly the Subject of Conscience,
with Reference to the future Judgment of
God.

C. By This Rule, *Pagans* are to be tole-
rated as well as *Christians* : For *They* have
Consciences as well as *We* : They are con-
vinc'd, that there is a God ; and that

Toleration Discuss'd.

That God ought to be Worship't; and may plead for the same Freedom, in the way and manner of their Proceeding.

N. C. But Paganism is not within the Pale of the Question.

C. Why then, no more is *Conscience*. If you say, They are in the *Wrong*, and so debar them the Exercise of their Opinion, because of the *Error* of it, your Exception lies to the *Error*, not to the *Conscience*; and may be turn'd upon your selves: For They say as much of You; and have as much right to condemn You, as You Them: Neither have you any more Right to be Judges in your own Case, then they in theirs.

N. C. Well, but we have a Law to Judge our selves by.

C. And so have They too: For, *They* Rom. 2, 14. *without a Law, do by Nature the things contained in the Law, and are a Law unto Themselves.*

N. C. But how can that Law have any Regard to the future Judgment of God, when they deny the Immortality of the Soul?

C. There is a future Judgment of God in This Life, as well as in the next: And the Conscience that hath no Light at all of another World, is not yet without Appre-

Toleration Discuss'd.

5

Apprehensions of Divine Vengeance in This. *Raro Antecedentem Scelestum deseruit pede pœna claudo.* You'l be as much to seek now, if you restrain your Argument to *Christianity* ; for you must either prove, That there are no *Erroneous Consciences* among *Christinas* ; or, That *Error* of Conscience is no *Sin* ; or else, That *Sin* may be *Tolerated*.

N. C. There is no doubt but there are Erroneous Consciences; and it is as clear that Sin is not to be Tolerated : But I do not take every Error of Conscience to be a Sin (understand me of Consciences labouring under an Invincible Ignorance.)

C. It is very true, That as to the *Formality of Sin*, which is the *Obliquity of the Will*, An *Error of Conscience* under an *Invincible Ignorance* is no *Sin* : But *Sin* *Materially* considered, is the *Transgression of the Divine Law* ; and *Conscience* it self becomes *Sinful*, when it dictates against *That Law*.

N. C. Can there be any Sin without Assent ; or any Assent without Knowledge ; or any Knowledge in a Case of Invincible Ignorance ? The Transgression of the Law implies the Knowledge of it, or at least the Possibility of Knowing it ;

without which, it has not the Nature of
Laus 27 a Law, as to me. [The Conditions
gainst Fish- requisite to a Rule are These: It must
er, P. 197. be Certain; and it must be Known. If
 it be not Certain, it is no Rule; If it
 be not Known, it is no Rule to Us.]
Rom. 7. 7. I had not known Sin, but by the Law
 (says the Text) And in another Place,
Rom. 4. 15. Where there is no Law, There is no
 Transgression. From whence the De-
 duction is clear, That Sin is not bare-
 ly the Transgression of a Law, but the
 Transgression of a Known Law; the In-
 conformity of the Will to the Under-
 standing.

C. The *Perverseness* of the Will being
 a Sin, does not hinder the *Enormity* of
 the Judgment to be so too. [Until the Law,
Rom. 5. 13. Sin was in the World; but Sin is not im-
 puted, when there is no Law.] In few
 words, The Word of God is the Rule of
 Truth, and all Disproportion to that
 Rule is Error: God's Revealed Will is
 the Measure of Righteousness; and all
 Disproportion to that Measure is Sin.
 Now the Question is not, Whether im-
 puted. or no; but, Whether a Sin, or No:
 And you cannot make Error of Conscience
 to be No Sin, without making the Word
 of God to be No Rule.

Toleration Discuss'd.

N. C. I do not deny, but it is a Sin as to the Law ; but it is none as to the Person ; It is none Constructively, with him that accepts the Will for the Deed.

C. Can you imagine that any Condition in the *Delinquent* can operate upon the Force and Equity of the *Law*? Because *God spares the Offender*, shall *Man* therefore *tolerate the Offence*? *David* was pronounced a *Man after God's own Heart*; shall Authority therefore grant a License to *Murder* and *Adultery*?

N. C. What is *David's Case* to ours? You instance in *Sins of Presumption*, and the Question is touching *Sins of Ignorance*.

C. I was a *Blasphemer*, a *Persecutor*, and *Injurious* (says *St. Paul*) but I obtain'd 1 Tim. 1. Mercy (he does not say APPROBA- 13. TION) because I did it in Ignorance and Unbeleif. Again, The *Magistrate* has a *Conscience*, as well as the *Subject*. It may be *Ignorance* in him that *Commits* the Sin, and yet *Presumption* in him that *Suffers* it. Briefly, in pleading for all *Opinions*, you plead for all *Heresies*, and for the Establishment of *Wickedness* by a *Law*. What *Swarms* of *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, *Familists*, *Antinomians*, *Anti-Scripturists*, *Anti-Trinitarians*, *Enthusi-*

asts (and what Not?) have started up even in our days, under the Protection of *Liberty of Conscience* ? What Blasphemous and Desperate Opinions, to the Subversion both of Faith and Government ! Where's the Authority of the Scriptures, and the Reverence of Religion, when every Man shall make a Bible of his Conscience, divide the Holy Ghost against it self, and dash one Text upon another? He that has a mind to rake further in this Puddle, let him read *Edwards* his *Gangrena*, *Bayly's Disswasive*, *Paget's Haresfography*, &c.

To pass now from *Opinions*, to *Practices*. The Liberty you challenge, opens a door to all sorts of Villany and Outrage imaginable; to Rapine, Murder, Rebellion, King-killing.

Indulg. &
Toler. p.
13, 14.

N. C. As if any Man that has a Conscience of his own, or knows what Conscience is, could give Entertainment to so fond an Imagination, as to suppose, that God at the last day will approve of Murders, Seditions, and the like Evils: Since what is Evil in it self, and against the Light of Nature, there is no direction unto it, no approbation of it from Conscience in the least.

C. But what will this amount to?
when

Toleration Discuss'd.

9

when, first, Every Man's Word shall be taken for his own *Conscience* : And secondly, That *Conscience* pleaded in defence of his *Actions*. * That which you stile *Murther*, and *Sedition*, He'll tell you is only a *Gospel-Reformation*, *The Destroying of the Hittites and the Amorites, &c.* So that you are never the better for tying a Man up to the Light of Nature in his *Actions*, if you leave him at Liberty in his *Creed* : For there is not that Impiety in the World, but he'll give you a Text for it. The Adversaries of God, that refuse to enter into a *holy Covenant with the Lord*, and submit themselves to *Christ's Scepter*, may be *Sequestred* and *Plundered*, without the Imputation of *Rapine* ; for it is written, *The Meek shall inherit the Earth* : And it is no more then God's People the *Israelites* did to the *Egyptians*. Nay, if they be *Refractary*, they may be put to *Death* too, without *Murder*. [*Those mine Enemies, which would not that I should Reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me.*] If any Man has a spight at the Church, it is but calling it *Antichristian*, and Mr. Case shall give him a Commission to *take this Agag, and Hew it in pieces before the Lord*. Taking up *Arms* against the *Government*,

Mat. 5. 5.

Luke 19.
27.

* In his
Book of
the Cove-
nant.

is *helping the Lord against the Mighty.* And *King-killing* it self, is justified by the Example of *Ehud* to *Eglon*.

N. C. But do you believe any Man so mad, as to take these Extravagances for Impulses of Conscience?

Mar. 24. C. Or rather, Is not he madder that doubts it? Considering the Evidences we have both from Story and Experience, and the very Authority of Scripture it self, in favour of believing it. Does not our Saviour foretell us of *False Christs*, and *False Prophets*, that shall arise and deceive many; yea, if it were possible, the very Elect? Parties are engag'd in all sorts of Abomination, under the Masque of Conscience. Those of the *League in Flanders*, 1503. under *Maximilian*, bound themselves by Oath, to cast off the Yoke of Government, and to kill and slay all Opposers; but with such regard to Religion (I warrant ye) that every Member of that Confederacy was to say five *Ave Maryes* and *Pater Nosters* daily, For a Blessing upon the Undertaking. The *Holy League* at *Peronne*, under *Henry* the Third of *France*, was for the *Glory of God* too, and the *Preservation of the King*: What Horrible Effects it produced, I need not tell you. *Sleydan* reckons upon *Fifty Thousand*

and slain in one Summer, in the Boores *Sleydan's*
 Rebellion in *Germany*, 1525. And char- *Comment.*
 ges the Tumult upon *Seditious Preachers*,
 whereof *Muncer* was chief. I shall not
 need to mind you of the Damned Villan-
 nies that were acted by *Muncer*, *Phifer*,
 (*Becold*, or) *John of Leyden*, *Rottman*,
Knipperdolling, *Klippenbroke*, *John Mat-*
thias, and the rest of that Gang, under
 the Imposture of *Inspiration*, and *Consci-*
ence: Their Sacking and Burning of
 Towns, Rapes, and Massacres: And all
 this under the pretense of *God's Command*,
 and the *Direction of his Holy Spirit*. Nay,
 so strongly was the deluded Multitude
 possess'd with the Doctrine and Ways of
 their False Prophets, that the *Munceri-*
ans, upon the Charge of the *Landtgrave*
of Hesse, stood stone still, without stri-
 king a Blow; calling upon the *Holy Ghost*
 to their Succour (as *Muncer* had promi-
 sed them) till they were all Routed and
 Cut off.

Was it not a *Holy Father*, and the *Pri-*
or of the *Convent* (one of the Heads of
 the *League*) that confirm'd *Clement* in
 his purpose of Murtherring *Harry* the
Third of France? For his Encourage-
 ment, they assur'd him, That if he out-
 liv'd the *Fact*, he should be a *Cardinal*; If
 he

Davila
delle Guer.
Civ. di
Fran. l. 10.

Ibid.

he dy'd, a Saint. What was it again that originally disposed this Monster to that cursed Act? *Stimolato dalle Predicationi, che giornalmente sentiva fare contra Henrico di Valois, nominato il persecutore della Fede, & il Tyranno.* Seditious Sermons against the King, as a Persecutor of the Faith, and a Tyrant. See in the same Author, the Confession of *John Castle*, concerning his Attempt upon

Lib. 14.

Harry the Great. He had been brought up in the Jesuites School, and Instructed, That it was not only Lawful, but Meritorious, to destroy Harry of Bourbon, That Revolted Heretique, and Persecutor of the Holy Church. [*Esaminato con le solite Forme, confessò liberamente, &c.*] What was it that Animated *Ravillac* to his Hellish Practise upon that Brave Prince? but (by his own Confession) A Discourse of *Mariana's, De Rege, & Regis Institutione.*

Strada de Bello Belgico, l. 5.

It was a Divine Instinct too, that mov'd *Balthasar Gerard* to Murder the Prince of *Aurange*. [*Divino tantum Instinctu, id à se patratum constanter affirmabat, dix Tortus.*] To conclude now with That fresh and execrable Instance here at Home, upon the Person of the Late King: It was the Pulpit that started the Quarrel; The Pulpit that Enflam'd it; The Pulpit that

Toleration Discuss'd.

13

that Christen'd it *God's Cause* ; The *Pulpit* that conjur'd the People into a *Covenant* to defend it ; The *Pulpit* that blasted the King , that pursu'd him , that prest the putting of Him to Death ; and the *Pulpit* that applauded it when it was done. And how was all this effected ? (I beseech ye) but by Imposing upon the weak and inconsiderate Multitude , *Errors* for *Truths* ; by perverting of *Scriptures* ; and by These Arts, moulding the *Passions* and the *Consciences* of the People to the Interest of a Tumultuary Design. These are the Fruits of the *Toleration* you demand. Reflect soberly upon what has been said ; and Tell me, Do you think such a *Toleration* either fit for *You* to Ask, or for *Authority* to Grant ?

N. C. The Truth is, In this Latitude there may be great Inconveniences : And yet methinks, 'tis Pity (in Cases of some Honest Mistakes) that a Good Man should be punished for not being a Wise Man.

C. And were it not a greater Pity, do ye think, for a State to keep no Check upon *Crafty Knaves*, for fear of disobliging some *Well-meaning Fools* ? As to the Sparing of the *Man*, I wish it could be done, even where it were Impious to
give

give Quarter to the *Opinion*: But how shall we separate the *Error* from the *Person*, so as to make a *General Law* take notice of it? It were *Irreligious* to Tolerate Both, and it seems to me *Impossible* to sever them. If you your self now can either prove the *former* to be *Lawful* (that is, *to do Evil, that Good may come of it*) or the *latter* to be *Practicable*, I'll agree with you for a *General Toleration*: If not, I hope you'll joyn with me against it.

Liberty of
Consc.^{up}.
on its true
and proper
Grounds,
P. 12.

N. C. I am not for a Toleration (as I told you) against the Light of Nature; nor would I have any Pretense of Conscience admitted, that leads to the Destruction of the Magistrate, and the Disturbance of the Government.

C. That is to say, You will content Your self with a *Limited Toleration*; which, I fear, upon the Debate, will prove as much too *narrow* for you, as the Other was too *wide*.

SECT. II.

LIMITED TOLERATION *too Narrow, and Disobliging to the Ex- cluded Party.*

C. **B**Y a *Limited Toleration* we may understand *A Legal Grant of Freedom and Immunity, in Matters of Religion, to Persons of such and such Perswasions, and to no Others.*

N.C. **D**o, if you please, An Exemption from the Lash of the Act of Uniformity.

C. You say something, if This would do the Work. But to dissolve a Solemn Law, for the Satisfaction of Some Particulars, and at last leave the People worse then we found them, were certainly a gross Oversight. However, what's your Quarrel to it?

N.C. I think it a great Cruelty to confine a multitude of differing Judgments to the same Rule, and to punish a Consciencious People for those Disagreements, which they can neither avoid, nor relinquish.

C. Why will you Practise that Cruelty
your

Toleration Discuss'd.

your selves then, which you condemn in others? For *Limited Toleration*, is an Act of *Uniformity* to those that are *excluded*. They that are within the Comprehension, will be well enough: But what will become of them that are left out? who have *Consciences* as well as their Fellows, and as good a Title to an Indulgence, as those that are taken in. Upon a fair View of the Matter, you can neither admit *All*, without Offence to your *Conscience*; nor leave out *Any*, without a *Cheque* to your *Argument*.

N. C. And yet I am perswaded a Limited Toleration would gibe Abundant Satisfaction.

C. Suppose you had it, and your self One of the *Rejected Party*: Are not you as well now, without any *Toleration* at all, as you would be then, without receiving any *Benefit* by it?

N. C. To deal freely, I would not willingly be excluded.

C. And is not That every Man's Case, as well as yours? A *Limited Toleration* must Exclude *Some*, and why not *You*, as well as *Another*? Or indeed, Why should not *All* be *Tolerated*, as well as *Any*? They can no more abandon their Opinions, then you Yours: And *Your Ways* are

are just the same Grievances to *Them*, which (if You may be credited) *Ours* are to *You*. So that most undeniably, the Plea of the *Nonconformists* upon the Point of *Conscience*, is all alike : And since None of them have more Right to an Indulgence, One then Another, Why should any Party of them expect more *Favour* ; to the Exclusion and Disobligation of the Rest ?

N. C. But are not Some Opinions more tolerable then Others ? Do you put no Difference betwixt Truth and Errour ? Betwixt Points Fundamental and Non-Fundamental ? Betwixt the very Basis of Christianity, and the Superstructure ? In fine, Betwixt such Principles as affect Order and Publique Agreement, and others that flow Naturally into Looseness and Confusion ?

C. Without Dispute, Some Opinions and Principles are more allowable then Others : But where lieth the Right of *Allowing*, or *Rejcting* ? Let This be first examined, and then we'll advise upon the *Opinions*, and *Principles* themselves, what may be allow'd, and what Not.

S E C T. III.

No Toleration to be admitted but with the Allowance of the Chief Magistrate.

C. **W**E are agreed, first, That an *Universal Toleration* (implying a License to all sorts of Wickedness) is not upon any terms to be admitted. Secondly, That a *Limited Toleration* (being a Grant of Favour to Some, and Exclusive of Others) must needs lay a Disobligation upon the Excluded Party. The next Point will be, Where to place the Power of Permitting, or Refusing; and from thence we shall pass to an Inquiry into the *Bounds* and *Limits* of such a *Toleration* as may be warrantable: Which being once settled, we are to see how far the Pretenses and Qualifications of the Parties concern'd will suit with those Measures.

Disc. of
Relig.
Preface.

N. C. Grant us but an Indulgence to Dissenters of Sound Faith, and Good Life; ~~We~~ ask no more. Let Nothing be imposed upon us that is grievous to our Consciences on the One Hand, and
We

We shall never desire a Toleration of any thing that is justly Offensive to Church or State on the Other.

C. But What if the Dissenters shall call that *Sound Doctrine*, which the Church defines *Heretic*? What if the Subject shall account That Imposition *grievous*, which the Magistrate thinks *Necessary*? Or, That Liberty *Conscientious*, which the Governour esteems *Unlawful*? Who shall over-rule? If the *Subject*, it follows then, That the *Magistrate* is obliged to *Tolerate* whatsoever the *Subject* shall judge Himself obliged to do: And this carries us back into a *General Toleration*. If the *Magistrate* over-rule, your Plea of *Conscience* is out of Doors: And it is at his Choice, What sorts of Dissenters to Indulge; and, Whether Any, or None, at his Pleasure.

N. C. The World, you know, is as much divided about the Power of the Civil Magistrate in matters of Religion, as about any other part (perchance) of our Debate.

C. We shall discourse That more at large elsewhere. But however, as to this Particular, let us come to a present Settlement, that we may clear our way as we go. If you make the *People Judges*.

Toleration Discuss'd.

of what is fit to be *Tolerated*, *First*, (as I said before) You are upon the Old Rock of *Universal Toleration*; for (right or wrong) every Man will stick to the freedom of his own way. *Secondly*, You lay the Foundation of a Quarrel never to be reconciled. You shall have as many *Factions*, as *Men*; As many *Religions*, as *Fancies*; and every *Dissenter* shall be both a *Party*, and a *Judge*. To imagine an Agreement betwixt the *Magistrate* and the *Multitude*, by the Common Consent of Both; were to suppose an Accommodation betwixt Heaven and Hell, betwixt Light and Darkness; which are every jot as Capable of it, as several of the Differences now before us. And for an Umpire in the Case, you can pretend to None.

N.C. Pardon me: We have the Word of God to repair to, in what concerns Sound Faith; and the Light of Nature for our Guide, in the Duties of Good Life.

C. This is to make that which was the Ground of the first Controversie, the Umpire of the Second. For what is the Original of all our Grand Disagreements, but (as St. *Augustine* has it) *Bona Scriptura male intellecta*; Good Scriptures ill understood?

derstood? And we are never the nearer an Accord for the Reading of Them, without another Moderator to set us right in the meaning of Them. Neither is *the Light of Nature* any more Exempt from false Glosses and Misconstructions, than the *Bible*. Upon the whole matter, you see the Absurdities and Inconveniences that follow upon placing the Judgment and Direction of Ordering these Matters of Difference, any where else then in the *Magistrate*: Whose Duty and Interest it is, both as a *Christian* and as a *Ruler*, to put an end to these Impious Contentions, by such Rules and Establishments, as may secure the Foundations both of *Religion* and *Government*.

N C. This would do well, if Men were agreed upon those Rules: But Several Men, we see, have Various Apprehensions of the self-same things, And That which One Man takes for a Rule, another counts an Error.

C. You are at your *Universal Toleration* again: But pray mark the Consequences of this way of Reasoning: Because the *Multitude* cannot agree upon a *Rule*, there shall be *None* at all. Pursue this Argument, and there shall be no *Law*, No *Religion*, No *Scripture*, No *Truth*,

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left in the World. Because Men differ, Which is the *true Religion*. They disagree about the *Doctrine* of the Bible. That which is *Truth* to One Man, is *Herésie* to another. And never was there any Law that pleased all People.

Authority says, *Worship Thus, or So*: The *Libertine* cries, *No, 'Tis a Confinement of the Spirit; An Invention of Man; A making of That Necessary which God left Free; A Scandal to Tender Consciences, &c.* And here is *Authority* concluded as to the *Manner* of *Worship*.

So for the *Time*. *How do they know when Christ was Born, Crucified, or Raised from the Dead.* The Churches *Fasting-days* They make their *Jubile's*. *Videas hodie Quosdam* (says Calvin) *quibus sua Libertas non videtur Consistere, nisi per Esu Carnium die Veneris in ejus Possessionem venerint.* We have many Now adays, that would look upon their Liberty as good as forfeited, if they should not maintain their Title to it, by Eating Flesh on *Fasting-days*.

'Tis the same thing as to the *Place*. Command them to *Church*, They will tell you, *There is no Inherent Holiness in the Walls: The Hearts of the Saints are the*

Institut.
de Liber-
tate Chri-
stiana.

the Temples of the Lord: Is not God to be found in a Parlour, as well as in a Steeple-house? Finally, What have they to say for all This, But that This is One Man's Judgment, That Another's? This or That may be indifferent to you, but not to me. To conclude, What One Man urges, All may; and in All Cases, as well as in Any: Which has brought us once again to an indeterminable Liberty; The last Resort of all the Champions of your Cause, if they be followed home. Now if you can assign any other Arbitrator of this Matter then the Civil Power, do it: If you cannot, let us proceed.

N. C. Go forward then.

S E C T. IV.

The BOUNDS of Toleration. And the Error of making Fundamentals and Non-Fundamentals to be the Measure of it.

C. **I**N the *Question of Toleration* (says a Learned Prelate) *the Foundation of Faith, Good Life, and Government is to be secured: Wherein is comprised a Provision and Care, that we may live as*

Toleration Discusst^d.

Christians toward God, As *Members* of a *Community* toward one another, and as *Loyal Subjects* toward our Sovereign. If you'l take This for the Standard of your *Toleration*, we have no more to do, but to apply Matters in Controversie to the Rules of *Christianity*, *Good Manners*, and *Government*; and to entertein or reject all Pretensions, thereafter as we find them Agreeable, or Repugnant, to *Religion*, *Morality*, and *Society*.

N. C. Very well stated truly, I think.

C. All the Danger is, the falling to pieces again, when we come to bring This and That to the Test. For if we differ at last upon the Application of Particular Points, and Actions, to the General Heads of *Faith*, and *Government* already laid down and agreed upon, We shall yet lose our selves in Uncertainty, and Confusion.

N. C. There will be no fear of That, if we tie up our selves to Fundamentals.

C. What do you mean by *Fundamentals*?

N. C. There are Fundamentals of Faith, that bind Us as we are Christians; And there are Fundamentals of Practice,

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Practice, that oblige us as we are Members of a Community. From These Fundamentals there lies no Appeal to Conscience. In other Matters (which we look upon as Non-Fundamental) we think it reasonable to Desire a Toleration.

C. This Distinction has a fair Appearance; but there is no trusting to it. First, it proposes a thing neither *Practicable*, nor *Reasonable*; which is, The Uniting of all People under one Common Bond of *Fundamentals*. What possibility is there of attaining such an Agreement, among so many Insuperable Diversities of Judgment, as reign in Mankind? Inasmuch, that what is a *Fundamental Truth* to One, is a *Fundamental Error* to Another; and Every Man is ready to abide the Faggot for his own Opinion. It is also very *unreasonable* to exact it. God Almighty does not require the *same Fundamentals* from all Men alike; But *Much from Him to whom Much is given*, and *Little from Him, to whom Little*: And from All, according to their differing Degrees, and Measures, of Grace, and Knowledg. You will likewise find your self under great *Uncertainty* about the Stating of your *Fundamentals*: For divers *Circumstances*,
of

of Little, or No value in Themselves, become *Fundamental* in respect of their *Consequences*. As for Instance; That *Christ died for Sinners*, I presume shall be one Article of your *Faith*: But whether upon *Mount Calvary*, or some other part of the Neighbourhood, seems of no great Moment, as to the Main of Our Salvation. And yet he that denies, that Our Saviour suffer'd upon *Mount Calvary*, puts as great an Affront upon the *Venerability* of the *Holy Ghost* in the Gospel, as He which denies that he suffer'd upon the *Cross*.

N. C. I gibe it for Granted, that from some, more is required; from others, less: In proportion to their Differing Gifts and Graces. But then there are some Principles, so Essential to Christianity, and so clear in Themselves, as to admit of no Dispute.

- C. Saving That Grand Foundation of
 1 Joh. 4. 3. Our *Faith*, that *Jesus Christ is come in*
 15. *the Flesh*; and that *Whosoever confesses,*
that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, God
dwelleth in Him, and He in God. (Saving
 (I say) That Radical Principle, which if
 we disbelieve, we are no longer *Christi-*
ans) There is scarce One Point that has
 not been subjected to a Controversie. If
 you

you reduce your *Fundamentals* to This Scantling, Your *Creed* will lie in a very Narrow Compass: But your *Toleration* will be Large Enough, if you are at Liberty for the rest. Touching the *Clearness* of them, I do not comprehend it: For *Supernatural Truths* hold no Proportion at all with the Ordinary Motions of *Humane Reason*. If They be so clear, Tell us, What they are; Where we shall look for them; and How we shall know them when we have found them.

N. C. Where should we look for the Foundation of our Faith, but in the New-Testament of Jesus Christ?

C. But still we do not all read the Bible with the same Spectacles. To draw to an Issue; *Generals* conclude nothing, so long as we are left at Freedom to wrangle about *Particulars*; and you will find much surer footing upon the *Foundations* of *Establish'd Law*, then upon the Whimsies of *Popular Speculation*. To my thinking, the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*, as it is settled by *Acts of Parliament*, with other Legal Constitutions, for the Peace, and Order of the Government, are every whit as competent a Provision for the Good of the Publique, as your new *Fundamentals*.

N. C. The

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N. C. The Point is not (as you seem to understand it) a Competition between Our Fundamentals of Notion, and Yours of Law : But an Inquiry concerning the Limits of a Justifiable Toleration.

C. Very Good: And you refer us to your Distinction of *Fundamentals* and *Non-Fundamentals*, as to a Rule, how far we are at Liberty, and wherein we are Bounded. But This will not do the work ; and I have spent the more words about it, because I find This Distinction the Ordinary Retreat of Your Party. The Truth of it is, there's not One of a Hundred of you, but takes This Question by the wrong Handle. You make it a Question of *Conscience*, and *Religion*, What *may* be *Tolerated*, and what *not* : Whereas the thing falls properly under a Consideration of *State*. In Matters not to be *Tolerated* (as in *Articles of Religion*) The Magistrate is positively *bound up* ; In other Cases, He may chuse, whether he will *Tolerate*, or *Restrain* ; That is to say, with a perpetual Regard to the Quiet, and Security of the Publique. Where *Particulars* may be relieved, without Inconvenience to *Communities*, it is well: But otherwise, *Private Consciences* weigh

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weigh little in the Scale against *Political Societies*: And *Toleration* is only so far allowable, as it complies with the Necessities, and Ends of *Government*.

N. C. That is to say (according to your first Resolution) The Foundation of Faith, Good Life, and Government is to be secured: ~~Wherein~~ I am content to close with you; though there are some, that believe the Right of Toleration may be defended without any Restrictions.

C. For Discourse sake, pray try, what you can make on't, either with, or without.

S E C T. V.

The Common Arguments for TOLERATION, Examined.

N. C. **N**O Man under the Gospel Lib. of ought to be compell'd to be- Consc. lieve any thing; and if not to believe, then P. 37. not to practise.

C. Rutherford says well to this Point: That the Magistrate is not to force Men Positively to External Worship; but Negatively,

Toleration Discus'd.

gatively, to punish Acts of False Worship, and Omissions of External Performances of Worship, as of *Ill Example to Others*: Not Commanding Outward Performances, as *Service to God*; but forbidding Omissions of them, as *Destructive to Man*.

Lib. of
Consc.
P.38.

N. C. It is a strange Absurdity to force Men, against their own Light, to be guided by Others, unless we are sure, we cannot mistake.

C. But were it not a stranger Absurdity, to leave every Man at Liberty to set up a New Light of his own; and then to subject the United Light of the Nation (which is the *Law*) to the Scatter'd Lights of Private Persons?

N. C. But does not One Man see that sometimes, which a Thousand may miss?

C. And because This is possible, is the Odds therefore upon One against a Thousand? Or if so, Why may not the Church be in the Right against the People, as well as any Particular of the People, against the Church, and the Rest? This is most Certain, that of a Thousand Differing Opinions, there can be but One Right: And a Toleration upon your supposal, is sure to set up Nine hundred
ninety

ninety nine Errors: Which is the ready way to bring People to cutting of Throats for Opinions.

N. C. If a *Magistrate* may punish all that his *Conscience* says are in the wrong, then All *Persecutors* are in the right.

C. Men are not punish'd for their *Consciences*, but for their *Actions*: And if a *Magistrate* may not restrain Liberty of *Action*, then All *Rebellions* are in the Right.

N. C. The *Magistrate* is appointed to see That Executed which Christ hath appointed in Religion; and Punctually ty'd up, neither to Add, noꝛ to Diminish, either in the *Matter*, oꝛ in the *Manner*. The *Manner* Christ hath appointed, being as positibely obliging as the *Matter*.

Lib. of
Consc.
p. 24.

C. If it be the *Magistrate's* Duty to see Christ's Appointments in Religion Executed, in *Matter*, and *Manner*, without *Adding*, or *Diminishing*: First, You must allow him to be a Competent Judge of What Christ hath appointed; (for otherwise his Commission directs him to do He knows not What.) Secondly, According to your Argument, there is but One Way of *Worship*, Warrantable, which

puts

puts a Bar unto any sort of *Toleration* whatsoever.

Lib. of
Consc.
P. 13, 14.

N. C. If the *Magistrate* has any *Power* over the *Consciences* of his *People*, How came he by it? For he that hath no other, then the *Light of Nature*, hath as much *Power*, as if he were *Christian*; and by becoming *Christian* hath no *Addition of Power* to what he had before.

C. It is true, that *Christianity* (as you put the Case) does not confer upon the *Magistrate* any *New Power*; but it lays upon him an *Additional Obligation of Duty*. While his *Conscience* was *Pagan*, He took his Measures only from *Humane Prudence*, and the *Light of Nature*. But upon his *Conversion*, He falls under the Dictate of a *Conscience* that is *Further*, and *Otherwise Enlighten'd*: And becomes *Answerable*, as well for the *Establishing*, *Securing*, and *Promoting of Christianity*, as for the *Political Conservation* of his *People*, and *Government*.

N. C. *Persecution* may make *Hypocrites*, but not *Converts*.

C. You may say the Same thing of the *Law*, in other Cases. That makes many Men *Honest* in appearance, for fear of *Punishment*; that are yet rotten at Heart. Nay, I am further perswaded, that

that where Severity makes one Hypocrite, It cures a hundred. For so long as there is either Profit, or Credit to be got, by the Disguise of Religion, All Men of Corrupt Principles, and Designs will flow into the Party. But when That Temptation to Hypocrisie shall be removed; and that they find nothing to be gotten by the Imposture, but Punishment, and Disgrace, They will soon betake themselves to a more regular Station in the Government. Many a Counterfeit Cripple has been cured with a Dog-whip.

N. C. Are Heresies to be Extirpated, and Truth to be Propagated by the Sword, or by the Word?

C. If it be the Penalty you oppose; Where the Word will not do, You yourselves fly to Censures, and Excommunications, which are Punishments, as well as Corporal, and Pecuniary Inflictions; and as little Instructive. But you are upon a Mistake: The Civil Power does not so much Pretend to the Recovery of those that are out of the Way, as to the Saving of the Rest: Nor does It properly Punish any Man, as an Heretic, but as a Seducer. Do you but let the King's Subjects alone, and He'll never trouble Himself to Impose upon your Consciences. If it
D. reaches

reaches not Wickedness in the *Heart*, It provides yet against the *Infection* of it, and the *Scandal*; by keeping the Hands, and Tongues of Licentious People in Order.

N. C. I do not deny, but that a *Rigorous Law* may have some *Profitable Influence* upon the *Looser Sort*: Yet still it falls heavy upon the *Innocent*, as well as upon the *Guilty*. To *Know*, *Believe*, or *Profess* are not in our *Power*: And shall a *Man* be punish'd for want of *Grace*, or *Understanding*?

C. Though it is not in our *Power* to *Know*, and *Believe*, as we please; yet to forbear *publishing* of our *Thoughts*, and *Acting* in Relation to Them, is unquestionably in our *Power*. Neither is any *Man* to be punish'd for want of *Grace*, or *Understanding*: But yet it will be ill, if those *Defects* may pass for an *Excuse*. All manner of *Impiety* should then go *Scot-free*: for without Doubt, *Let Fools be Priviledged*, and all *Knaves shall pretend Ignorance*.

N. C. No *Man* can call *Jesus the Christ*, but by the *Holy Ghost*: Will you punish any *Man* for not having the *Holy Ghost*?

C. No *Man* that hath the *Holy Ghost*,
will

will deny *Jesus* to be the *Christ*: Will you punish any Man for denying *Jesus* to be *Christ*; that is to say, for not having the *Holy Ghost*?

N. C. He that acts against his Conscience, Sins.

C. And so does he that Acts by it; If in Error.

N. C. Every Man is true to God, that is true to his Conscience, though it be Erroneous.

Lib. of
Consc.
p. 56.

C. Will it not then follow, that a Man may worship the *Sun*, or the *Moon*, and yet be true to God, if That Worship be according to his Conscience? To clear This Point; Some Consciences are Erroneous upon the score of *Invincible Ignorance*; and That Insuperable Frailty is a fair Excuse: But Some Consciences again are Erroneous for want of due Care, Search, and Enquiry; Others, out of *Pertinacy*: And there is no Plea to be admitted for These Consciences.

N. C. How do you know, but you may persecute God, in the Conscience of a True Believer, as *St. Paul* did, before his Conversion?

C. If I may turn your own Reason against your self, I may do it, and yet be true to God; if in so doing, I am true

to my *Conscience*. But still you conso and *Conscience*, and *Practise*; whereas the *Civil Magistrate* pretends to no sort of *Authority*, or *Dominion* over the *Conscience*. And your Objection is of as little force any other way: For the *Magistrate* is no more *Infallible* in *One Case*, then in *Another*; and may as well Dread the *Persecuting* of *God*, in the *Conscience* of a *Murderer*, or any other *Criminal*, as in That of an *Heretick*.

N.C. I think we have enough: But it may be, *This Toleration* will please us better in the *Exercise*, then it does in the *Speculation*.

C. What Hinders then, but we may try it that way too?

S E C T. VI.

TOLERATION undermines the Law, and causes Confusion both in Church and State.

N.C. **W**hy may not a *Toleration* do as well here, as in *France*?

C. How do you mean? Would you have

have his *Majesty* of *Great-Britain*, Tolerate *Roman-Catholicks* here, as his Most *Christian Majesty* does *Protestants* in *France*?

N. C. You speak as if *Rome* were to be Tolerated but *Papists*.

C. Not I truly : But so it must be, if you'll have your *Toleration* after the *French Fashion*. Can you shew me that any *Non-Conforming Roman Catholicks* are Tolerated *There*? Nay; Or that those of the *Religion* do *Subdivide*, or break *Comunion* among *Themselves*? Such an Instance might stand you in some *stead*.

N. C. But is it not *Worse*, To Tolerate a *Forreign Religion*, then to *Indulge* your own? To permit *Freedom of Worship* to those you repute *Hereticks*, then to *Relaxe* a little towards your *Orthodox Friends*?

C. The Question is not, in Matter of *Religion*, whether to Favour *Sound Faith*, or *Herese*; but in *Reason of State*, whether is more Advisable, to Tolerate the Exercise of quite a *Different Religion*; Or a *Separation* from the *Church-Order Establish't*. Alas! In several Religions (and especially where the Professors are divided by mutual Prejudice, and Principles of

Toleration Discuss'd.

strong Opposition, (as in this Case too much they are) There's no great fear of gathering, and engaging Parties, to the Disturbance of the Publick Peace. *There is a great Gulf (as he says) betwixt them.* And Men do not usually start from one Extreme to another, at a Leap; But to *Tolerate One Church within Another, is to Authorize a Dissolution of the Government both Ecclesiastical, and Civil.* And the Defection is the more Dangerous, because it is almost Insensible. As many as will leave you, may; and every Dissenter is double: *One lost, to the Government; Another gain'd, to the Schism:* Which will quickly bring down Authority to the Mercy of the People. In fine, *By Toleration, a Kingdom is divided against itself, and cannot stand.*

N. C. *When you have taken Breath,
Do me the Favour to make out what
you say.*

C The Demand of a Toleration, is in it self, the *Condemnation of an Establish't Law;* and not without hard Reflexions neither, both upon the *Equity, and Prudence of the Law makers.* So that, at first Dash, here is the *Law unking'd:* For *If any One Law may be question'd by the Multitude, The Consequence reaches to All the Rest.*

N. C. *Will*

N. C. We do not question, either the *Prudence* of the *Law-Makers*; Or the *General Equity* of the *Constitution*. Only where God hath not given Us *Consciences* suitable to the *Rule*, We humbly desire such a *Rule*, as may Comply with Our *Consciences*.

C. Would you have a *Law* that shall Comply with all *Consciences*? God Almighty Himself never made a *Law* that pleased all *People*.

N. C. It would be well then, that you should bring all Men to the *same Mind*, before you force them to the *same Rule*.

C. But it would be ill, if there should be *no Rule* at all, till we had found out One that all *People* should say *Amen* to.

N. C. We do not ask the *Vacating* of a *Law*, but the *Widening* of it.

C. Why then you ask a worse thing; for it were much better for the *Publique*, totally to *Vacate* a *Good Law*, then to suffer a *Contempt*, even upon a *Bad One*. If the *Reason* of such or such a *Law* be gone, Repeal the *Law*. But to let the *Obligation* fall, and the *Law* stand, seems to be a *Solacism* in Government. You should consider, that *Laws* are not made for *Particulars*; but framed with a *Re-*

gard to the *Community*: And They ought to stand *Firm*, and *Inexorable*. If once they come to Harken to *Popular Expostulations*, and to side with *By-Interests*, the Reverence of Government is shaken.

N. C. But where's the Danger of Receding from that Inexorable Strictness?

C. Here it lies. It implies an Assent, both to the *Equity* of the *Complaint*, and to the *Reason* of the *Opinion* in Question: (If not also a Submission to *Importunity*, and *Clamor*.) And among many Ill Consequences, It draws This after It, for One. If any *One sort of People* may be allow'd to challenge any *One Law*; *All other Sorts* have an Equal Right of Complaining against *All*, or any of the *Rest*. So that a *Toleration*, thus Extorted, does not only unsettle the *Law*; but ministers Argument to the Pretense of *Popular Reformation*. To say Nothing of the Credit it gives to the *Disobedient*, and Discouragement to those that keep their Stations: Beside what may be reflected upon the Magistrate, for Instability of Counsels.

Another Exception may be This: How shall we distinguish betwixt *Faction*, and *Conscience*? If it prove to be the *former*,

A *Toleration* does the Business to their Hand. Nay, Suppose it the *latter*; and that, hitherto, there is Nothing but pure *Conscience* in the Case; What Security have We, that it shall not yet embroil us in *Mutiny*, and *Sedition*? Will not the *Tolerated Party* become a Sanctuary for all the *Turbulent Spirits* in the Nation? Shall they not have their *Meetings*, and *Consultations*, without Controul? And when they shall see the *Law* prostituted to the Lusts of the Multitude; The *Order* of the Government *dissolved*; and the *Government* it self left *naked*, and *supportless*; What can We Expect shall be the End of these things, but *Misery*, and *Confusion*?

Nor is it all, that a *Toleration* is of manifest *Hazard* to us: But it is *That* too, without any sort of *Benefit* in Return. Shall we be the *Quieter* for it? No. *One Grant* shall become a *President* for *Another*; And so shall *One Importunity* for *Another*, Till we are brought in the *End*, either to a *General License*; Or to a *General Tumult*. (No matter Which) The *Rejected Party* will be sure to mind you, that They are as good *Subjects*, and have as good *Claims* as Others, that are *Tolerated*; upon which disobliging score, there

there falls an *Odium*, and *Envy* upon the Government.

I think a Man shall not need the Spirit of *Propheſie*, to foretel theſe Events. For a *Toleration* does naturally *Evertuate* the *Law*, and lead to a *Total Diſſolution* of *Eccleſiaſtical Order*; and Conſequently, to a *Confuſion*, both in *Church*, and *State*.

N. C. I do not find my ſelf much preſs'd by any thing now offer'd: If a *Toleration* unhinges the *Law*, 'Tis but making the *Law* a little *Wider*, and then that Block is remov'd. And ſo is the Fear likewiſe of bringing preſent *Inconveniencies* into *Preſident*: For All *Tolerable Liberties* may be comprehended within that *Latitude*. And as to the matter of *Impoſing Faction* for *Conſcience*, ſuch a *Prohibition* ſecures You, as well, as the Act for *Uniformity*.

C. I have ſpoken as much as Needs to this Point: If you think you have any Right to a *Toleration*, make it out; and Approve your ſelves for a Generation of People, to Whom, the King may with *Honour*, and *Safety*, Extend a Bounty.

SECT. VII.

*The Non-Conformist's Plea for Toleration,
upon REASON OF STATE.*

C. **T**HE Ordinary Motives to *Indul-*
gence, are These Three. 1. *Reason*
of State. 2. *The Merits of the Party*.
3. *The Innocence, and Modesty of their*
Practises, and Opinions. What have you
to say now for a *Toleration* upon *Reason*
of State?

N.C. ~~The~~ *Non-Conformists* are the
King's Subjects; and ~~What's~~ a *King*
without his *People*?

C. By *Birth*, and *Obligation*, they are
the *King's Subjects*; but if they be not
so in *Practise*, and *Obedience*, They have
no longer any Title to the Benefit of his
Protection; And such *Subjects* are the
worst of *Enemies*.

N. C. You will not deny them how-
ever to be a *Numerous Party*; And a
People of Conduct, and *Unity*: ~~Which~~
puts the *Government* under some kind
of *Prudential Necessity*, to oblige to
Considerable an Interest.

C. If

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C. If they be consequently *Dangerous*, because they are *Numerous*; The *Greater* the *Number* is, the *greater* is the *Hazard*: And therefore because they are *many* already, and will *encrease* if they be *suffer'd*, They are *not* to be *Tolerated*.

N. C. But Men will be much more *Peaceable* when they are *Indulged*, then when they are *Persecuted*.

C. Now I am perswaded, that the *Multitude* will be much quieter *without* a Power to do *Mischief*, then *with* it. But what is your *Opinion* of the *Honesty* of the Party?

N. C. I do seriously believe the *Non-Conformists* to be an *Honest*, *Conscientious* sort of *People*.

C. But they must be *Knaves*, to make Good Your Argument: for if they be *Honest*, They'l be quiet *without* a *Toleration*: If they be *Dishonest*, They'l be *Dangerous* *with* it. Consider again; If there be any *Hazard*, it lies not in the *Number*, but in the *Confederacy*. A *Million* of Men without *Agreement*, are but as *One Single Person*. Now They must *Consult*, before they can *Agree*; and They must *Meet*, before they can *Consult*. So that barely to hinder the *Assembling* of these *Multitudes*, frustrates the *Danger* of Them.

Them. Whereas, on the other side, *To Tolerate Separate Meetings, is to Countenance a Combination.*

N. C. Mistake me not ; I do not say, 'tis likely they will be troublesome, in Respect of their *Temper*, and *Judgments* ; but that they are Considerable enough to be so, in Regard of their *Quality* and *Number*.

C. Whether do you take to be the *Greater Number* ; Those that singly wish to be discharg'd from the *Act of Uniformity* ; Or Those that would have *no Law at all* ? Those that are troubled because they may not *Worship* according to their *Fancy* ; Or Those that are displeased because they cannot *Live*, and *Rule* according to their *Appetite* ? The *Traitor* would have *One Law* discharg'd : The *Schismatick*, *Another* : The *Idolater*, a *Third* : The *Sacrilegious Person*, a *Fourth* : The *Profane Swearer*, a *Fifth* : The *False Swearer*, a *Sixth* : The *Murderer*, a *Seventh* : The *Seducer*, an *Eighth* : And in fine ; Not *One* of a *Thousand*, but had rather *Command*, then *Obeys*. Shall the King therefore dissolve the *Law*, because there are so many *Criminals* ? That were to raise an Argument against *Authority*, from the very Reason
of

Toleration Discus'd.

of its *Constitution*. Shall the People be left to do what they *list*, because a World of them have a Mind to do what they *should not*? Shall his Majesty give up his *Government*, for fear of some *Millions* (perchance) in his Dominions, that had rather be *Kings*, then *Subjects*? Less forcible, beyond Question, is the Necessity of the King's *Granting* a *Toleration*, (if you reckon upon *Numbers*) then That of *Renouncing* his *Sovereignty*. For doubtless, where there is *One Man* that is truly *Scrupulous*, there are *hundreds* of *Avaricious*, *Ambitious*, and otherwise *Irreligious Persons*.

N. C. Tell me, I beseech you; Do not you believe that there are *more Non-Conformists* now, then there were at the beginning of the Late War?

C. Yes, I do verily believe, *Three to One*.

N. C. Why then 'tis at least *Three to One* against You: For at That time the Third Part of This Number was the Predominant Interest of the Nation.

C. That does not follow; for you may remember, that at the beginning of the late War, The Party were Masters of the Tower, The Navy, of all Considerable
Forts,

Forts, Towns, and Magazines: They had a great part of the Crown and Church Revenues under their Command, and *London* at their Beck: Beside the Plunder of Malignants, and the Bountiful Contributions of the Well-affected. *Scotland* was already Confederate with them in *One Rebellion*; and they had made sure of *Another* in *Ireland* (by Persecuting the Earl of *Strafford*, who was the only Person Capable of Keeping them Quiet.) Which they further assisted, by a Gross Opposition of his Majesties Proposals, and Resolutions to suppress it. [See the *King's Speech of Decemb. 14. 1641.* and the following Petition concerning the same.] Ex. Coll. p. 2. 3. Finally, for the better Countenance of their Usurpations, the *House of Commons* was drawn down into a *Close Committee*, and the Votes of that *Junto* were Impos'd upon the Nation as the Acts of a Regular, and Complete *Authority*. This was their Condition *formerly*; but blessed be God, it is not so *at present*.

The Three Kingdoms are now at Peace; and we have a Parliament that is no Friend to the Faction. The King is Possess'd of a Considerable Guard, which his Royal Father wanted. The Militia is in safe Hands. His Majesty is likewise possess'd

fest of his Regal Power, and Revenue :
 And his Capital City firm in its Obedi-
 ence : To all which may be added, that
 although divers Particulars are as Wealthy
 as Pillage, and Pardon, can make them ;
 Yet They want a *Common Stock* to carry
 on a *Common Cause*. The *Thimbles*, and
 the *Bodkins* fail ; and the Comforta-
 ble In-comes of (a) *Irish Adventures* ;
 (b) *Moneys* and *Plate* upon the *Proposi-*
tions ; (c) *Confiscated Estates* ; (d) *Twen-*
tieth Parts ; and (e) *Weekly Assessments* ;
 and a hundred other Pecuniary Strata-
 gems are departed from them.

a Ex. Coll.

p. 84.

b p. 339.

c p. 609.

d p. 764.

e p. 392.

If it be so, that these People have None
 of these Advantages now remaining, by
 virtue whereof, they did so much Mis-
 chief before ; What *Necessity* of *Tolera-*
ting for fear of *Disobliging* Them ?

N. C. *Holmboer* ; It is not for your
 credit, to say, these People want *Conduct*,
 by whom your selves have been worsted.

C. The Men that worsted us, were a
 sort of People, that Voted down Bishops
 on the wrong side of the Parliament-
 house Door ; That cry'd, *They would*
have no more Porter's Lodge at Whitehall ;
 and told his Sacred Majesty in a Pub-
 lique Declaration [*August 8. 42.*] that
The Pretence that his Person was there in
Danger,

Ex. Coll.

p. 533.

p. 494.

Danger, was a Suggestion as false as the Father of Lies could invent.— That Seiz'd the Tower, The Navy, The King's Towns, Forts, Magazines, Friends, and Revenues; That Levy'd War against, and Imprison'd his Sacred Person; Usurped his Sovereign Authority; Imbrued their Hands in his Royal Blood; and in the very Pulpit, animated, and avowed the Unexampled Murder.

If *These* be the People which you plead for, under the Notion of *Non-Conformists*, never trouble your selves to go *Nine Mile* about, for a *Toleration*: But *come roundly up to the Point, and desire his Majesty to deliver up his Crown.* If it be Otherwise, You have overshot your self in your Challenge; and it does not appear, that You are the *Numerous, Politick, and United Party* we took you for. If the *Non-Conformists* were the Principal Conducters in that Design, they are not honest enough to be trusted; and *I see no Reason of State, to Dispose the King to Gratifie the Murderers of his Father.* If They were not so, it was none of *Their Conduct* that did the Work.

N.C. If Societies, and Professions, shall be made answerable for the Failings of Particulars, All Communities, and Fel-

lowships will be found blameable alike; for there is no Order, or Way, without *Corrupt Pretenders* to't: And it is not enough to say, there were *Non-Conformists* in the Party; unless you probe, that what those *Non Conformists* did, was acted upon a Principle, Common to *Dissenters*; and that they did it, as *Non-Conformists*.

C. This is a *Defence*, instead of an *Answer*; as if I had now charg'd the *Combination* upon the *Non-Conformists*, when I only ask, if they were the *Managers* of it, or No? *This*, you neither *Confess*, nor *Deny*; And there let it rest: Since the *Dilemma* lies indifferently against you, whether they were, or not. (as does already appear) Touching the *Unity* you boast of, (I must confess) it is as eminent against your *Superiours*, as your *Disagreements* are among your *selves*. And take all together, I see Nothing made out as yet, to prove, that the Kingdom is likely to be either the *Better* for *Granting* a *Toleration*, or the *Worse* for *Refusing* it. Moreover, We are not unacquainted with your *false* *Spotswood. Musters*. *Nine Presbyteries*, of Fifty, *Hist. Scott.* made up One of your *General Assemblies*. And upon the *Conference* at *Hampton-*
P. 487.

Hampton-Court, in 1604. of above Nine *Ibid.* p 479
Thousand *Ministers*, there were but Forty
Nine upon the Roll, that stood out, and
were deposed: Such a Noise (says Spots-
wood) will a few Disturbers cause, in any
Society where they are Tolerated. But
what if a Man should allow the *Non-
Conformists* to be as valuable as you repre-
sent them? It is but a kind of *Pagan*
Argument, to urge the Worshipping of
Them (as the *Indians* do the *Devil*) for
fear they should hurt us.

N. C. They that have a Power to do
Hurt, have commonly a Power to do
Good; And no doubt of it, the *Non-
Conformists*, under the Obligation of an
Indulgence, would shew themselves as
serviceable to the Common Good, as
any sort of People whatsoever.

C. What they will do, is uncertain;
What They have done, is upon Record,
in Characters of Blood. Give me but
One Instance, even since the Reformati-
on, where *England*, or *Scotland* was ever
the better for Them (any otherwise, then
by God's Extraordinary Working of
Good out of Evil, and Take the Cause.

N. C. I would it were put upon
that Issue.

S E C T. VIII.

*The Non-Conformists Plea for Toleration,
from the MERITS of the Party.*

C. **W**Hat has your Party *Merited* from the Publique, that an Exception to a General Rule should be Granted in your Favour?

N. C. Many of *Us* ventur'd All, to save the Life of the late King.

C. And yet ye ventur'd more to take it away: For ye did but *Talk* for the *One*; and ye *Fought* for the *Other*.

N. C. We ever abominated the Thought of *Murdering* him.

C. You should have abominated the Money too, for Which ye sold Him.

N. C. Who sold Him?

C. The *Presbyterians* sold Him; and the *Independents* were the *Purchasers*.

N. C. Did not the *Presbyterians* Vote His Majesties *Concessions* a Ground for a *Treaty*?

C. Yes; but it was upon Conditions, worse then Death it self. They deliver'd Him up too, when they might have preserved

served him: And they stickled for Him, when they knew they could do Him no Good.

N. C. What End could they have in That?

C. The very same End in —48, which they had in —41: To make a Party by it, and set up a *Presbyterian Interest* in the *King's Name*.

N. C. All the World knows, that We were so much afflicted for his Sacred Majesties Distress, that We had many Solemn days of *Humiliation* for it.

C. So ye had for his *Successes* (when Time was) for fear he should get the Better of Ye: And you had your days of *Thanksgiving* too, for his *Disasters*.

N. C. Pray'e let me ask You One Question now: *Who brought in this King?*

C. They that would not suffer You to keep him out: That Party, which, by a Restless, and Incessant Loyalty, hindred your Establishment.

N. C. And what do you think of the *Secluded Members*?

C. We'll speak to that Point in another Place. But can you tell me What was the Ground of the Quarrel? I suppose I

Toleration Discuss'd.

need not tell you What was the Event of it.

N. C. Religion, and Liberty.

C. Of Which Side were the Tender Consciences? For the King; Or Against Him?

N. C. We were eber for the King; Witness our Petitions, Declarations, and, in a most Signal manner, Our Solemn League and Covenant.

C. Now I thought you had been against Him: because You took away his Revenue, Authority, and Life: Unless you mean that you were For Him in your Words, as you were Against Him in your Actions.

N. C. There were many of Us, that lov'd the King as well as any of those about Him.

C. According to the Covenant (That is.) And does not your Party love This King, as well as they did the Last? I do not think but you love the Bishops too.

N. C. Truly when they are out of their Fooleries, I have no Quarrel to the Men. But what makes you couple the Crown, and the Mitre still? As if no Man could be a Good Subject, that is disaffected to Prelacy.

C. Why truly, I think you can hardly shew

shew me any *One Non-Conformist* that ever struck Stroke for the *King* ; Or any true Son of the *Episcopal Order* of the Church, that ever bore Arms *against* Him.

N. C. Are not you your self satisfied, that eben *Cromwel* Himself, and others of his *Principal Officers*, when the late King was at *Hampton-Court*, had *Deliberations*, and *Intentions* to *Save* Him? and that there were *Thousands* in the *Army*, that had no *Unkindness* for his *Majesty*?

C. I do absolutely believe, both the *One*, and the *Other* ; and that the *Folly*, and *Heedlessness* of the *Common-Souldier* contributed, in a High Measure, to the *General Fate* : Nay, that his Late Majesty was oppress'd, even by those, that thought they fought *for* him, before they understood what they did. But yet let me Commend to your Observation, that these relenting *Intervals* in the *Heads* of the *Army*, did manifestly *Vary*, according to the Pulse of their *Affairs*. Which evinces, that it was a *Deliberation*, upon the matter of *Convenience*, rather than upon a Point of *Conscience*. But thus far however we are agreed ; That *many* of the *Non-Conformists* were engaged ; Whether upon *Ignorance*, *Interest*, or

E 4

Faction,

Faction, take your Choice. That is to say, upon Which of These Three you will found the *Merits* of your *Party*.

We are next to Enquire, How far your *Principles*, and *Actions*, will comport with the *Duties* of *Society*, and the *Ends* of *Government*.

S E C T. IX.

The Non-Conformists Plea for Toleration, from the Innocence, and Modesty of their OPINIONS and PRACTISES.

C. **I**N the Question of *Government*, and *Obedience*, there are many Points, wherein the *Non-Conformists* agree: Many more, wherein they *differ*: and not a few, wherein they are altogether *Fluctuant*, and *Uncertain*. We have Nothing to do (in this Place) with their *Disagreements*, or *Uncertainties*; save only in those Matters wherein they are United by *Common Consent*: And to Determine what Those are, will be a New Difficulty; Unless you tell Us before-hand, What *Authorities* we may depend upon. Your *Principles*

Principles must be *Known*, or they cannot be *Examined*. Wherefore, Pray'e Direct us Where we may find them.

N. C. Why truly in the *History* of the *Reformation*: for This Controverſie has been on foot from the very beginning of it, to this Day.

C. If you ſpeak of the *Reformation* beyond the Seas, I do not find any thing there, that comes neer our Purpose. Here is, firſt, Pretended, a *Reformation* of a *Reformation*; Secondly, A *Conjunction* of *Several Parties*, and *Perswaſions*, at utter *Enmity* One with Another, in a *Confederacy* againſt the Order of the *Government*: Whereas in the Great Turn of Affairs Abroad, I ſee little more then a *Deſection* from the Church of *Rome*; and People ſetling themſelves in ſome other way, as well as they could. *Münſer's* Party in *Germany*, had (I confeſs) ſome Reſemblance of the Tumults here in *England*, that uſher'd in the late War; both for the *Medly*, and for the *Rabble*. In *Scotland* indeed, there was a Conteſt, for the *Reforming* of a *Reformation*; and it went high. But it was only a Struggle, for the *Gen. va-Diſcipline*: Which Humour was brought over to *us* too, and driven on, for a while, under Q *Elizabeth*,
with

with much *Contumacy*, and *Bitterness*. But our Case (in short) was never known in the *Christian* World, till the late Troubles; and thither it is, that we must resort for satisfaction to our present Enquiry. Now whether you'll be tried by the *Declarations, Votes, Orders, and Ordinances* of that Pretended *Parliament* that carry'd on the Quarrel; Or by the Undeniable *Doctrines*, and *Positions* of your own *Divines*; (and those the very *Idols* of your *Party*) is left at your Election.

N. C. As for the *Parliament*, let them answer for themselves: We had no hand in their Proceedings. And for our *Ministers*, They were but *Men*, and may have their Failings as well as other People. If you would know our *Principles*; We are for *Worshipping* according to the *Light* of Our *Consciences*, for *Obeying* God rather than *Man*; and for yielding all *due Obedience* to the *Civil Magistrate*.

C. All This comes to Nothing. For you may make that *Light* what you please; and Qualifie that *due Obedience* as you list. What does all this Evasion, and Obscurity signifie; but that there is somewhat in the bottom, more then you are willing to own?

There

There are a sort of People, that tell us, *The War raised in — 41, in the Name of King and Parliament, was Lawful. And That the Sovereignty was lodg'd in the Two Houses, (Nay in the People) in Case of Necessity. That Kings are but the Peoples Trustees ; Their Power, Fiduciary ; and the Duty of Subjects only Conditional. That Princes may be Depos'd ; Nay, and put to Death, in Case of Tyranny : And That their Persons may be Resisted, but not their Authority. That the King is Singulis Major, Universis Minor : And that the People may Enter into Covenant, for the Reformation of Religion, without the Consent of the Chief Magistrate ; nay, against his Authority ; and Propagate Religion by the Sword. They make their Appeals, from the Literal Construction of Law, to the Equitable ; from the Law Written, to the Law of Nature, and Necessity.*

A Man might ply You with fresh Instances upon this Subject, till to morrow morning ; But here we'll stop : And pray'e speak your Opinion now, of Granting a *Toleration*, to a *Party* that *Professes*, and *Teaches*, *These Principles* ; and *Acts* accordingly.

N. C. What is all This to the Non-Conformists ?

Toleration Discusst'd.

Conformists? Who are already come to an Agreement; that, In the Question of Toleration, The Foundation of Faith, Good Life, and Government, is to be Secured.

C. Very Good. So that what Party soever shall be found Guilty of the *Positi- ons* aforesaid, and of *Actions* answerable thereunto, cannot reasonably pretend to a *Toleration*, from the *Innocency* of their *Opinions* and *Practises*. Now to *Parti- culars*.

The POSITIONS of Divers Eminent Non-Conformists.

I. The War raised by the *TWO HOUSES* in the Name of King and Parliament, 1641. was Law- ful.

Mr. Bix-
ter's Holy
Common-
wealth.
Printed
1659.

[I cannot see, that I was mistaken in the main Cause, Nor dare I repent of it, Nor forbear the same, if it were to do again, in the same State of Things.— And my Judgment tells me, That if I should do otherwise, I should be guilty of Treason, Or Disloyalty, against the So- veraign Power of the Land. Pag. 486.

A King, abusing his Power, to the Overthrow of Religion, Laws, and Liberties, may be Controuled, and Opposed. This may serve to justify the Proceedings of this Kingdom against the Late King, who in a Hostile way set himself to overthrow Religion, Parliaments, Laws, and Liberties. P. 10.

Robert
Douglass
his Sermon
Preach'd
at Scoone,
Jan. 1.
1651.
Printed
1660.

The Righteousness of the Parliament's Cause, is as clear, as the Sun at Noon-day. And, like the Law of God it self, in These Excellent Qualifications of it; That It is Holy, Just, and Good. P. 6.

J. Good-
win's An-
ti-Caval-
rism.

II. The Lords, and Commons are the Supreme Power; Nay the People, in Case of Necessity.

Parliaments may judge of Publique Necessity, without the King; (If deserted by the King) and are to be accounted, by Virtue of Representation, as the Whole Body of the State. P. 45.

The Ob-
servator.

Whensoever a King, or other Superior Authority, creates an Inferior; They Invest it with a Legitimacy of Magistratical Power to Punish Themselves also, in Case they prove Evil-doers. P. 7.

Right and
Might well
mer, Anna
1648.

England is a mixt Monarchy, and Governed by the Major Part of the Three Estates

Parlia-
ment-
Physick.

Estates Assembled in Parliament. P. 111.

*Abab's
Fall.*

The Houses are not only requisite to the Acting of the Power of making Laws; but Co-ordinate with his Majesty, in the very Power of Acting. P. 42.

*Interest of
England in
the matter
of Religi-
on. 1660.*

When as a Part of the Legislative Power resides in the Two Houses; as also a Power to redress Grievances, and to call into Question all Ministers of State, and Justice, and all Subjects, of whatsoever Degree, in Case of Delinquency; It may be thought, that a Part of the Supreme Power doth reside in Them, though they have not the Honorary Title: And This Part of the Supreme Power, is indeed Capable of doing Wrong: Yet how it might be guilty of Rebellion, is more Difficult to conceive. P. 49.

*The Peo-
ples Cause
stated. An.
1662.*

The Delegates of the People, in the House of Commons, and the Commissioners on the King's behalf, in the House of Peers, concurring; do very far bind the King, if not wholly. P. 112. And when These cannot agree, but break, One from Another, the Commons in Parliament assembled, are Ex Officio, The Keepers of the Liberties of the Nation, and Righteous Possessors, and Defenders of it, against all Usurpers, and Usurpations Whosoever. P. 130.

III. *KINGS* are but the *Peoples TRUSTEES*; Their *Power*, *Fiduciary*; and the *Duty* of *Subjects*, *Conditional*.

[*The King, is but the Servant of the People; and his Royalty is only a Virtual Emanation from them; and in Them, radically, as in the first Subject.*] So Rutherford, Parker, Goodwin, Bridges, Milton, &c.

The People can give no other Power, Lex Rex. then such as God has given Them: And An. 1644. God has never given a moral Power to do Evil. All Fiduciary Power, abused, may be repealed; And Parliamentary Power is no Other: Which, if it be abused, The People may repeal it; and resist them; Annulling their Commissions; Rescinding their Acts; and Denuding Them of their Fiduciary Power: Even as the King Himself may be denuded of the same Power by the Three Estates. P. 152.

Princes derive their Power, and Prerogative from the People; and have their Investitures, meerly for the Peoples Benefit. P. 1.

It is the King's Duty to pass all such Laws, as Both Houses shall judge Good for

Jus Populi. 1644.

Declarat. touching the 4 Bills March 13. for 1647.

for the Kingdom: Upon a Supposition, That They are Good, Which by them are judg'd Such.

*Viadicia
contra Ty-
rannos.
Printed
1648.*

If the Prince fail in his Promise, the People are Exempt from their Obedience; The Contract is made Void, and the Right of Obligation is of no Force.—It is therefore permitted to the Officers of a Kingdom, either All, or some good Number of them, to Suppress a Tyrant. P. 120, 121.

IV. Princes may be *DEPOSED*, and put to *DEATH*, in Case of Tyranny.

Tenure of Every Worthy Man, in Parliament, Kings. may, for the Publick Good, be thought 1649. a fit Peer, and Judge of the King. P. 24.

Goodwin's Where there is no Opportunity for the Defence of Interposure of Other Judges, the Law of the King's Nature, and the Law of Nations allow Sentence. Every Man to Judge in his own Case. P. 34.

Mr. Baxter's Holy If a Prince wants such Understanding, Goodness, or Power, as the People judge Necessary to the Ends of Government; In the first place; He is Capable of the Name, but not of the Government. In the Second; He Deposeth Himself. In the

the Third; The want of Power, Deposes him. Theses 135, 136, 137.

*It is lawful for any, who have the Pow- Tenure of
er, to call to Accompt, a Tyrant, or Wic- Kings.
ked King; And after due Conviction, to 1649.
Depose, and put him to Death, if the
Ordinary Magistrate have Neglected, or
Deny'd to do it.*

*It is not impossible, for a King, Regis A Survey
Personam Exuere; In a Natural, Or of the
MORAL Madnes or Frenzy to turn Grand
Tyrant, Yea Beast, Waiving his Royal Case. Prin-
Place, Violently, Extrajudicially, Extra- ted 1663.
magisterially to assault his Subjects, as
Saul did David. In this Case, Men
think Nature doth Dictate it; and Scri-
pture doth Justifie a Man, Se Defendendo
Vim Vi repellere. P. 23.*

*The Real Sovereignty among Us, was Mr. Bax-
in King, Lords, and Commons; and if ter's Holy
the King raise War against such a Parlia- Common-
ment: The King may not only be resisted, wealth.
but Ceaseth to be a King. Thesis 358.*

*The Lord rent the Kingdom from Saul, Mr. Fair-
for sparing One Agag; and for want of cloth be-
thorough Extirpation of all the accursed fore the
Things, He lost both Thanks for What He Commons.
had done, and Kingdom also. P. 27.*

*Let no Law hinder Ye: If Law be to Mr. Symp-
be broken, it is for a Crown; and there- son.*

fore, for Religion.—Ye are set over Kingdoms, to Root out, Pull down, Destroy, and Throw down: Do it quickly, Do it thoroughly.

Scripture
and Reason for
Defensive
Arms.
1643.

By what Rule of Conscience, or God, is a State Bound to Sacrifice Religion, Laws, and Liberties, rather than endure, that the Princes Life should come into any Possibilities of Hazard, by Defending them, against those that in his Name are bent to subdue them? If he will needs thrust Himself upon the Hazard, when he needs not, Whose Fault is That?

English
Translation
of the
Sco's De-
claration.

There never was a Greater Harmony of the Laws of Nature, Reason, Prudence, and Necessity, to Warrant any Act, then may be found, and discern'd in that Act of Justice in the Late King. P. 18.

Defence of
the King's
Sentence.
Jo. Good-
win.

Touching the Righteousness of the Sentence past upon the King; Doubtless never was any Person under Heaven, Sentenc'd with Death, upon more Equitable, and Just Grounds. P. 90.

The Poli-
cy of Prin-
ces.

Praised be God, Who hath delivered us from the Impositions of Prelatical Innovations, Altar-Genu-flections, and Crin-gings, with Crossings, and All That Popish Trash and Trumpery. And truly (I speak no more then what I have often thought, and said) The Removal of these
Intup-

Insupportable Burdens, counterbails for the Blood and Treasure shed and spent in these late Distractions. Nor did I ever as yet hear of any Godly Men that desired, Were it Possible, to Purchase their Friends, or Money again, at so dear a Rate, as with the Return of These: To have Those Soul-Burdening, Antichristian Yokes re-imposed upon Us. And if any such there be, I am sure, that Desire is no part of their Godliness; and I profess my self, in That, to be None of the Number. P. 23.

V. The *PERSONS* of Princes may be resisted, though not their *AUTHORITY*.

The Man who is King, may be resisted, Lex Rex. but not the Royal Office: The King in Concreto, but not the King in Abstracto. P. 265. [He may be resisted in a Pitch't Battel, and with Swords, and Guns. 324. That is; His Private Will may be resisted, not his Legal Will. 269. Neither is He in the Field, as a King, but as an unjust Invader, and Grassiator. 334. If He chance to be Slain, 'Tis but an Accident; and who can help it? 324. He is guilty of his own Death; Or let Them
 F 2 *answer*

*answer for't that brought Him thither, The
Contrary Party is Innocent. 273.]*

Mr. War's Analysis of Houses, *though the Person of Charles
the Cove- Stuart be not there.*

nant, *His Capacity was at Westminster, when
English his Body was upon the Scaffold at White-
Translation. hall, &c. P. 18.*

VI. The King is *SINGULIS MAJOR, UNIVERSIS MINOR.*

Lex Rex. *The King is in Dignity Inferior to the
People. P. 140. The Sovereign Power
is Eminently ; Fontaliter ; Originally,
and Radically in the People. 156.*

*De Monar- Detrahere indigno Magistratum et si
chiâ Absolu- Privati non Debeant, Populus tamen Uni-
tiâ. versus quin possit, Nemo, Opinor, dubi-
tabit. It is not for Private Persons to
Depose a Wicked Governour : But that
the Universality of the People may Law-
fully do it, I think no Body questions.
Fixum Ratûmque habeatur, Populi semper
esse debere Supremam Majestatem.
P. 9.*

VII. The

VII. The *People* may enter into a *Covenant* for *Reformation*, without the *Consent* of the *Chief Magistrate*.

There is much Sin in making a Covenant on Sinful Grounds, and there is more Sin in Keeping it ; But when the Preservation of true Religion, and the Vindication of Just Liberties meet in the Ground, Ye may Swear, and not Repent ; Yea, if Ye Swear, Ye must not Repent. P. 18. Not only is That Covenant which God hath made with Us, founded in the Blood of Christ ; but That also, which We make with God. P. 33.

Mr. Caryl
at Taking
the Cove-
nant. 1643;

The Breach of the National Covenant is a Greater Sin, then a Sin against a Commandment, or against an Ordinance. 158.
— *A Sin of so high a Nature, that God cannot in Honour but be avenged upon't. 159.*

The Phæ-
nix. E.C.

VIII. *RELIGION* may be *Propagated* by the *SWORD*.

The Question in England is, Whether Maishill's Christ, or Anti-Christ, shall be Lord, or Sacred Pa-King? Go on therefore Courageously : Ne-

negyrique.

ver can ye lay out your Blood in such a Quarrel. Christ shed all his Blood to save You from Hell. Venture All Yours, to set Him upon his Throne P. 23.

Mr. Case before the Commons. 1644. *Cursed be he that withholdeth his Sword from Blood; that spares, when God saith Strike; that suffers those to escape, whom God has appointed to Destruction. P. 24.*

Mr. Calamy's Speech at Guildhall. 1643. *In the 10 of Numbers, you shall read that there were Two Silver Trumpets; and as there were Priests appointed for the Convocation of their Assemblies, so there were Priests to sound the Silver Trumpets to Proclaim the War. And likewise in the 20 of Deuteronomy, you shall find there, that when the Children of Israel would go out to War, the Sons of Levi (one of the Priests) was to make a Speech to Encourage them. And certainly, if this were the Way of God in the Old Testament; certainly, much more in such a Cause as This, in which Cause, Religion is so entwin'd, and indeed so enterlac'd, that Religion, and This Cause, are like Hippocrates his Twins, they must live, and dye together.*

Mr. Calamy's Notion's Part II. 1643. *You have vow'd in This Covenant to Assist the Forces raised by the Parliament, according to your Power, and Vocation; and not to Assist the Forces raised by the King,*

King, neither Directly, nor Indirectly. P. 45. Now let me exhort you, not only to chuse to serve God, and to serve his Church, and his Cause, in this most Just Defensive War, &c. 46.

In vain shall you in your Fasts, with Josua, ly on your Faces, unless you lay your Achans on their Backs; In vain are the High Praises of God in your Mouthes, without a Two-edged Sword in your Hands. P. 31.

Mr. Herle before the House of Lords. 1643.

The Execution of Judgment is the Lord's Work, and they shall be Cursed that do it Negligently; and Cursed shall they be that keep back their Sword from Blood in this Cause. You know the Story of Gods Message unto Ahab, for letting Benhadad go upon Composition. P. 26.

Mr. Strickland on a Thanksgiving. 1644.

Whensoever you shall behold the hand of God, in the Fall of Babylon, say; True; Here is a Babylonish Priest crying out, Alas! Alas! My Living; I have Wife and Children to Maintein. -I: but all this is to perform the Judgment of the Lord. P. 30. Though as Little Ones, they call for Pitty, yet as Babylonish, they call for Justice, even to Blood.

M. Bridges on Revel. 4. 8.

IX. There lies an *Appeal* from the *Letter* of the *Law*, to the *EQUITY* of it : And from the *Law Written*, to the *Law* of *NATURE*.

Ex. Coll. *The Commander going against the*
P. 150. *EQUITY of the Law, gives Liberty*
An. 1642. *to the Commanded, to refuse Obedience*
to the Letter of it.

Lex Rex. *There is a Court of Necessity, no less than*
a Court of Justice ; and the Fundamen-
tal Laws must then speak : and it is with
a People, in this Extremity, as if they had
Ibid. *no Ruler. P. 113. The People have gi-*
ven the Politique Power to the King ; and
the NATURAL Power they Reserve
to Themselves. 151.

Right and
Might. *All Humane Laws and Constitutions*
are made with Knees, to bend to the Law
of NATURE and NECESSITY.
P. 85.

Here is more than enough said already ;
and to go on as far as the Matter would
carry us, there would be no End on't.

You are now at Liberty, either to *deny*
These to be the *Positions* of the *Non-Con-*
firms ; or to *justify* the *Positions* them-
selves ;

selves; or to lay down your *Plea* for *Toleration*, upon the *Innocency* of their *Principles*.

N. C. I am no Friend to *These Positions*: Neither can I yet quit my *Claim*, unless you make it out, that *These* are the *Principles* of the *Party*, which I take to be only the *Errours* of *Individuals*.

C. Shew me the *Party*, and let me alone to prove *These* to be Their *Principles*. But if you will not acknowledge a *Party*, they are (as you say) but the *Errours* of *Individuals*; though all the *Non-Conformists* in the Three Kingdoms should own them under their Hands.

You call your selves *Non-Conformists*, and so were they, that both began, and carried on the Late *War*. Great Apprehensions they had of the Designs of the Popish Party. [So have you.] Mightily offended they were at the Immoderate Power of the Bishops. [You again.] Petitioners for the taking away such Oppressions in Religion, Church Government, and Discipline, as had been brought in, and Fomented by them. [Your very Picture still.] And for Uniting all such together, as joyn in the same Fundamental Truths against the Papists: by removing some Oppressions,

Ex. Coll.
Pa 2.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Oppressions, and Unnecessary Ceremonies, by which, Divers weak Consciences have been scrupled, and seem to be divided from the rest. [The very Platform of your Comprehension.] Thus far You march Hand in Hand: I need not tell you what followed upon't; but Your Parts are so much alike, that it looks as if We were now again upon the first Scene of the same Tragedy. For a Conclusion, Conformity, or In-Conformity, seem'd at first to be the Sum of the Question; and the Discipline of the Church was made the Ground of the Quarrel. The Ruling Party in the Pretended Parliament, were Non-Conformists; The Army, Non-Conformists; The Pretended Assembly of Divines were Non Conformists; The City-Ministers, and Lecturers, Non-Conformists; And by the Solemn League and Covenant, every Man that took it, was to be a Non-Conformist, upon pain of Damnation. Now take Your Choice, (since Non-Conformists you are) Whether you'll Range yourselves under the Parliament; Your Army; Your Assembly; Your City-Ministers; Or Your Solemn League and Covenant: And let me bear the Blame, if I make it not as clear as the Day, That the Principles charg'd upon You, are the Principles of Your Party. As

As to your *PRACTISES*, They have been suitable to your *POSITIONS*; and All those Violences have been Exercised upon the *Government*, that were first Dictated in the *Pulpit*. The *Lawfulness* of *Popular Insurrections*; Of *Deposing*, and Putting *Kings* to *Death*, under the Cloak of *Reformation*, has been vented as *the Doctrine* of *Jesus Christ*, even by the *Oracles* of your *Cause*: Nay; and several of Them (at present) *Eager Asserters* of the *Equity* of a *Toleration*. And what has been the Fruit of These *Unchristian-Lectures*; but the *Subversion* both of *Church*, and *State*: And the *Murder* of a *Pious*, and *Gracious Prince*, under Pretence of *Doing God* and the *Kingdom Good Service*?

N. C. These are *Actions* (I confess) not to be warranted. But yet my *Charity* perswades me, that a great part of the *Mischief* they did, proceeded rather from *Necessity*, than *Inclination*.

C. Will ye see then what they did afterward, when they were at *Liberty* to do what they listed?

They had no sooner *Murdered* the *Father*, but immediately (a) They made it *Death* to *Proclaim* the *Son*.
Scobell
Acts, &c.
(a) Part 2.
p. 3.
 (b) They

- (b) P. 7. (b) *They abolish't Kingly Government.*
 (c) P. 51. (c) *Sold the Crown-Lands.* (d) *Declared*
 (d) P. 65. *it Treason to deny the Supremacy of the*
 (e) P. 178. *Commons.* (e) *Null'd all Honours and*
Titles granted by the King since — 41.
 (f) P. 293. (f) *Made Scotland One Commonwealth*
with England, &c.

Have They now kept any better Touch with the *Liberty and Property* of the *Subjects*? Let their Proceedings Witness

- (a) Scobell for Them ; (a) *As their Tax upon the*
 Acts, &c. Fifth and Twentieth Part. (b) *Excise upon*
 P. 41. *Flesh, Victuals, and Salt.* (c) *A new Ex-*
 (b) P. 60. *cise upon Ale, Copperas, Monmouth-Caps,*
 (c) P. 73. *Hops, Saffron, Starch, &c.* (d) *A Loan*
 (d) P. 75. *of 66666 l. 13 s. 4 d. for Supply of the*
 (e) P. 128. *Scots.* (e) *An Assessment for the Main-*
 (f) P. 8. *tenance of the Army.* (f) *The House of*
 Part 2. *Peers Abolish't; and a Monthly Tax of*
 (g) P. 149. *90000 l. for the Army.* (g) *A Month-*
 (b) P. 153. *ly Tax of 120000 l.* (h) *An Imposition*
 (i) P. 400. *upon Coal.* (i) *A Monthly Assessment of*
60000 l. Not to Clog the Discourse
with over many Particulars: We'll see
next, What They have Done, toward
the Moderating of the Power of Bishops,
and the Removal of Unnecessary Ceremo-
 (k) P. 42. *nies.* (k) *The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury*
Suspend'd, and his Temporalities Seque-
 (l) P. 53. *stred.* (l) *Monuments of Superstition*
 De-

Demolish't ; (That is, in short, an Ordinance for Sacrilege) (m) *The Book of* (m) P. 75. *Common-Prayer laid aside, and the Directory Commanded instead of it.* (n) *Arch:* (n) P. 99. *Bishops and Bishops Abolish't, and their Lands settled in Trustees.* (o) *Their Lands* (o) P. 101. *Exposed to Sale.* (p) *Festivals Abolish't.* (p) P. 128. (q) *Deans and Chapters, &c. Abolish't :* (q) Part 2. P. 16. *And their Lands to be Sold.*

This is Your Way, Of *MODERATING* the Power of Bishops, and of *REMOVING UNNECESSARY CEREMONIES*. And This is the *History* (in Little) of the *Opinions*, and *Practises* of your Party: Drawn from matter of *Fact*; Provable to a Syllable; and Deliver'd without any Amplification of the Matter.

N C. All things have been done, there's no Question on't; But they have been done by *Ill Men*: And 'tis not a *Toleration of Faction* that we pretend to, but a *Toleration of Conscience*.

C, Which *Toleration* (upon farther search) will be found to be a meer *Utopian Project*, or *Worse*.

SECT. X.

The Non-Conformists demand a Toleration, which is neither INTELLIGIBLE in the Whole, nor PRACTICABLE, so far as it may be Understood.

C. **I**T makes a great Noise in the World, The Out-cry of the *Non-Conformists*, for *Toleration*, *Indulgence*, *Liberty of Conscience*, *Comprehension*, &c. Let them but set it down in a *Clear*, *Practicable*, and *Intelligible Proposition*, and I dare say, They shall have it for the Asking.

Disc. of
Relig.

Title pag.

N. C. *We do Propound, That Reformed Christianity may be settled in its DUE LATITUDE.*

Ex. Coll.
p. 135.

C. By *Reformed Christianity*, I suppose you intend the *Protestant Religion*: But your *DUE LATITUDE* is of a *Suspicious Intimation*. Do not you remember a *Declaration of the Two Houses* (April 9. 1642.) for a *DUE*, and *Necessary Reformation of the Government*, and *Liturgy of the Church*: And *Nothing to be*

be taken away, either in the One, or in the Other, but *What should be found Evil, and justly Offensive; Or, at the least, Unnecessary, and Burdensom?* This *Due Reformation* ended (as you may remember) in a *Total Extirpation* of Both *Liturgy* and *Government*: And We see Nothing to the Contrary, but *Your DUE LATITUDE* may signifie the very same thing with *Their DUE REFORMATION*. Pray be a little Clearer.

N.C. *Then to put all out of doubt; I would, in the first place, have An Establish't Order: Secondly; A Limited Toleration: Thirdly, A Discreet Connivence.*

Disc. of
Relig. Par.
I. p. 28.

The Parties Comprehended in the Establishment, to be of Importance in the Publique Interest; and of Principles Congruous to such Stated Order in the Church, as the Stability of the Commonwealth requires.

I Would have the Toleration, to Extend to Those that are of Sound Belief, and Good Life; Yet have taken in some Principles of Church-Government less Congruous to National Settlement.

Disc. of
Relig. Par.
I. p. 38.

And for Connivence; It is to be remitted to Discretion.

C. What is all This now, but an *Universal*

Toleration Discuss'd.

versal Toleration, in a Disguise? Some to be Comprehended within the Establishment; Others to be Tolerated; And the Rest to be Connived at.

Again; Your *Establishment* is to be of a *Latitude*, to take in several sorts of *Dissenters*, under such and such *Qualifications*. They must be of *Importance in the Publique Interest*; and of *Principles Congruous to such Stated Order in the Church, as the Stability of the Commonwealth requires*. Ask the *Dissenters Themselves* concerning their own *Qualifications*, and They'll tell you. that they are *all* of them, of *Important Interests*, and of *Congruous Principles*: So that this way, you are still upon an *Universal Toleration*. But on the *Other Side*, if You Consult *Authority* about Your *Comprehension*, The Preface to the Act for *Uniformity* will tell You, that the *Establishment* is *as wide already* as the *Peace of the Nation* will well bear. If you'll Acquiesce in *This Judgment*, the Case is determin'd to Our Hand: If you *Appeal* from it, You cast your selves out of the Pale of your own Project, because of your *Principles Incongruous to the Reason of Government*.

N. C. But it appears to us, that the *Stated Order of the Church* may be widen'd,

widen'd, without any Check to the Stability of Government.

C. And what will This avail You, if it appears *otherwise* to the *Governours Themselves*? If *They* may be *Judges*, the *Strife* is at an *End*; but if you think to help your selves by Translating the *Judgment* to the *People*; *After that Day*, let us never expect any other Law, than the Dictate of the Rabble. It removes the very *Foundations* of the *Government*, and Carries Us headlong into *Anarchy*, and *Confusion*, without Redemption.

If a Man should ask You now, about Your *Importance in Publique Interest*; *First*; as to the *Interest* it self, Whether you mean an *Interest* of Raising *Men*, and *Moneys*; Or *What Other*? *Next*; as to the *Degree*, and *Measure* of your *Importance*; How Many *Regiments* of the *One*, and How many *Millions* of the *Other*, makes up that *Importance*? Would you not take Time for an Answer?

And then, We are as much at a Loss about Your [*Such Stated Order in the Church as the Stability of the Commonwealth requires*] You give Us No Satisfaction at all, *Wherein* the *Stability* of the *Commonwealth* consists; Or *What Stated*

Toleration Discuss'd.

ted Order in the Church that Stability requires: But here is a kind of a Moot-Point cast in, betwixt Authority, and the People, Which of the Two shall Determine, upon That Congruity, and Convenience.

Your *Limited Toleration* too stands or falls upon the *Same Bottom*, with Your *Comprehension*: That is to say, Who shall Judge of the *Sound Belief*, and *Good Life*, of the *Pretendents* to That *Indulgence*.

As to your *Connivence*, You say Nothing of it your self; and I shall Reflect as little upon it.

Let me only Observe Upon the Whole; that if you had really a Mind to set Us right, Methinks, You should not Trifle Us with these *Ambiguities*, and *Amusements*: But rather endeavour by some *Pertinent*, *Intelligible*, and *Practicable Proposition*, to bring Us to a better Understanding. Say, *What Injunctions* You would have *abated*; *Name* the *Parties* You would Recommend for their *Importance of Interests*, *Congruity of Principles*, *Sound Faith*, and *Good Life*. Teach us how to *know* these *Qualities*, *Where* to look for Them, and *Who* shall Judge of Them. Let it be made out, That the Present *Sollicitors* for *Tender Con-*
sciences,

Toleration Discuss'd.

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sciences, are duly Authorized, and Commission'd to Act as the Trustees of the Respective Parties. Do This; and Matters may be brought yet to a Comfortable Issue: But so long as You place the Conditions of your Indulgence out of the Reach of Ordinary Proof, and indeed, of Humane Knowledge, Every Man that is Excluded, shall dispute his Title to the Comprehension, without any Possibility of being Confuted; To the Scandal of Religion, and to the Perpetual Trouble, Both of King, and People.

N. C. To set forth the Propounded Latitude, in the Particular Limits thereof, were Presumptuous, both in Reference to Superiors, and to the Party Concerned in it.

Disc. of
Relig. Par.
2. P. 22.

C. As if it were not a greater Presumption, to Alienate the Affections of the People from their Superiors, by Reflectings upon the Iniquity of the Government, then by the Tender of some Rational Medium of Accord, to Dispose the Hearts of Superiors to a Compliance with the Prayers, and Necessities of the People. But there is more in these Generalities, and Reserves then the Multitude are well aware of; and I am afraid, it will be as hard a matter, to bring you to an Agreement about the Particular Parties to be Tolerated, as about the Model it self.

G 2 SECT.

S E C T. XI.

The Non-Conformists demand a Toleration, for No Body knows WHOM, or WHAT.

C. **T**HE *Non-Conformists* are the *Party* that desire a *Toleration*; Pray let me ask ye, What are their *Opinions*? What are their *Names*? For, I presume, you will not expect a *Toleration*, for *No Body knows What, or Whom*. Are they *all of a Mind*? If They were *Tolerated Themselves*, Would They *Tolerate One Another*? Are They come to any *Resolution* upon *Articles*? Are They agreed upon any *Model* of *Accommodation*? Do They know What They would be At? Or is it in the *Wit* of Man, to *Contrive a Common Expedient* to *Oblige* them?

N. C. There's no *Body* says, that they are *All of a Mind*; & that it is possible to please them all; & Reasonable to *Entreat* it. There are *Divers* among them. whose *Principles* will never endure any *Order* either in *Church*, or *State*. But what is the *Sober Part* the

the Worse for these Extravagants? Those, I mean, who are ready to Justifie themselves; eben according to the Strictness of your own Measures.

C. If You are for such a Toleration, as shall Exclude the *Wild*, and *Ungovernable Sects of Dissenters*; How comes it, that, in Your *Writings*, and *Argumentations*, You still plead the *General Cause of Non-Conformists*, without any *Exception*, or *Distinction*?

N. C. You are not to fasten a Charge of this Quality upon *Us*; that have already submitted Our selves, Not only to the *Moderation of a Limited Indulgence*, but to your own *Conditions* also, under that very *Limitation*.

C. This You have done, I must confess, in *General Terms*; But still I say, as to *Particulars*, Your *Discourses* are of such a Frame and Bias, as to give *Credit*, and *Encouragement*, to *Every Sect* of the *Whole Party*.

N. C. I am of a *Perswasion*, but Disc. of not of a *Party*: and whatsoever my *Perswasion* be, it is *Moderate*, *Catholic*, and *Pacific*. Relig. Par. 2. p. 45.

C. And so is every Man's, if his own Word may be taken for his own *Perswasion*. But why are ye so *Nice*, and *Canti-*

ous, in the owning of a *Particular Way*, and *Profession*; and yet so *Frank*, and *Open*, in a *Clamor* for the *Whole Party*? You Complain that you are *persecuted*, and yet *Obstruct* the Means of your own *Relief*. Some, Ye say, are to be *Indulged*; Others, *Not*. How shall *Authority* Distinguish of Which Number You your selves are; so long as You remain under this *Concealment*? Are You for the *Presbyterians*?

Disc. of
Relig. Par.
3. P. 45.

N. C. I am not ashamed of their *Company*, that are Commonly called by *That Name*: Yet I have no Pleasure in such *Names of Distinction*. Neither my *Design*, nor my *Principles*, engage me to maintain the *Presbyterial Government*.

C. Are You Independent then?

Disc. of
Relig. Par.
2. P. 38.

N. C. Neither. But yet I am (as I told you) for *Tolerating Those of Sound Faith*, and *Good Life*, That have taken up *some Principles of Church-Government less Congruous to Rational Settlement*.

C. What Do you think of the *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, *Quakers*, &c?

Ibid.

N. C. Why truly, So it is, That *Prudent*, and *Pious Men* may be of *Exceeding Barren Principles*, about *Church-*

Church-Order, and Fellowship: Toward Whom, Christian Charity pleadeth for Indulgence; and, We hope, Political Prudence doth not gainsay it.

C. So that you are *FOR All Parties*, but not *OF Any*. Which Generality gives to Understand, that your Business, is rather a *Confederacy*, then a *Scruple*.

N. C. *Make That Good if you can.*

S E C T. XII.

The Conjunct Importunity of the Non-Conformists for a Toleration, is not groundd Upon a Matter of CONSCIENCE.

N. C. **Y**ou are the first Person certainly that ever undertook to make Proof of a Conscience.

C. And yet Our Saviour tells Us, (in This very Case of *Hypocrisie*) that *the Tree may be known by its Fruits*: But however; the best way of Proving a Thing Feasible, is the Doing of it.

The *Non-Conformists* refuse Communion with the *Church*: What is it They boggle at?

- (a) Disc. of Relig. Pars 2. *N. C. (a) They do esteem the Ceremonies an Excess in the Worship of God. Pag. 31.*
- (b) Peace Offering. *(b) [And Dissent from the Present Establishment of Religion, only in things relating to Outward Order, and Worship. Pa. 12*
- (c) Indulg. & Toler. *(c) About the Choice of some Peculiar Ways of Worship. Pa. 12.*
- (d) Disc. of Relig. Pars 1. *(d) But as to the English Reformation, Established by Law, They heartily Embrace it, and Assent to the Doctrine of Faith contained in the Articles of the Church of England. Pa. 22*
- (e) Peace Offering. *(e) They have no New Faith to Declare: No New Doctrine to Teach; No Private Opinions to Divulge; No Point, or Truth to Profess, which hath not been Declared, Taught, Divulged, and Esteem'd, as the Common Doctrine of the Church of England, ever since the Reformation. Pa. 11.*
- (f) Indul. & Toler. *(f) They come up to a Full Agreement, in all Material Things, with Them, from Whom they Dissent. Pa. 30.*

C. If They Agree in all Material Things, it follows, that they Divide about Matters Inconsiderable; and Break the Order, Peace, and Unity of the Church for Trifles. (Things Indifferent, and relating to Outward Order, and Worship.)

N. C. In Prescribed Forms, and Rites

Wites of Religion, The Conscience will interpose, and concern it self; and Cannot resign it self to the Dictates of Men, in the Points of Divine Worship And Those Injunctions, which so the Imposers, are Indifferent; in the Consciences of the Dissenters, are Unlawful. And What Humane Authority can warrant any One to put in Practice, an Unlawful, Or Suspected Action? Pa. 26.

Disc. of
Relig.
Part 2,

C. If This be, really, Conscience; You will be found as *Cautious* in venturing, deliberately, upon a *Suspected Action*, in *all other Cases*, as you are in *This*. But what if it shall appear, that This Fit of *Tenderness* only takes you, when you are to pay an *Obedience* to the Law; and that you are as *Bold* as *Lions*, when you come to *oppose* it? Will you not allow us to think it possible, that there may be somewhat more, in the *Importunities*, and *Pretences* of the *Non-Conformists*, then *Matter of CONSCIENCE*?

'Tis a *Suspected Action* to *Kneel* at the *Sacrament*; but *None*, to hold up your *Hands* at the *Covenant*. You make a *Conscience* of disclaiming the *Obligation* of *That Covenant*, in Order to the *Security* of the *Government*: But *None* at all, of *Leagu*ing your selves in a *Conspiracy*, for the

the *Subversion* of it. Where was your *Tenderness*, in *Suspected Cases*, when, to *Encourage Rapine, Sacrilege, and Rebellion*, was the *Common Business* of your *Counsels*, and *Pulpits*? When it was *safer to Deny the Trinity*, then to *Refuse the Covenant*. When the *same Persons*, that started at a *Ceremony*, made no *Scruple* at all, of *Engaging the Kingdom in Blood*; and laying *Violent Hands* upon their *Sovereign*. Is not This, *Straining at a Gnat, and swallowing a Camel*?

Disc. of
Relig.
Pais 1.

N. C. *The Non-Conformists, I know, are charged with Principles, that detract from Kingly Power; and Tend to advance Popular Faction. It is true, They have been Eager Asserters of Legal Liberties. Pag. 40. But These are Things gone and Past, and Nothing to our Present Purpose. The Wise Man says, He that repeateth a Matter, separateth very Friends. A looking back to former Discords, mars the most hopeful Redintegration. Acts of Indemnity, are Acts of Oblivion also, and must be so observed. Pa. 41.*

Ibid.

C. *The Non-Conformists (The Sole Actors in the late War) were only Eager Asserters (it seems) of Legal Liberties.:*

berties: You do not deal so Gingerly with the *Bishops*, in the Point of *Ceremonies*, as to let them come off, with the Character of *Eager Assertors of Legal Authorities*. So that herein also, *Your Consciences stumble at Straws, and leap over Blocks*.

Now, Whereas You will have it, that a Reflection upon *former Discords*, is a Violation of the *Act of Indemnity*; And Impertinent to Our Purpose: My Answer is; *First*, That I do not revive the Memory of *former Discords* as a *Reproach*; But I make use of some Instances out of former Passages, to make Good my Assertion: That Your *Conjunct Impertinency* for a *Toleration*, is not grounded upon *Conscience*. And to shew you, that your Practises, and Professions grin One upon Another. For *Conscience is all of a Piece*; Not *Tender*, and *Delicate* on the *One* side, and *Callous*, and *Unfeeling*, on the *Other*.

Secondly, Suppose We should make a little Bold with the *Act of Oblivion*: I think We have as much right to do it, as You have to fall foul upon the *Act of Uniformity*. Unless you conceive, that the Mercy you have received by One Law, gives You a Privilege of Invading all

all the rest. As to Authority; it is One and the Same in Both; and if there were any place for Complaint against the Equity of a Legal Establishment, it would lie much Fairer against the Act of *Indemnity*. on the behalf of the *Royallists*, (that have ruined their Estates and Families in the Defence of the Law; and yet after all, are thereby condemned to sit down in Silence, and Despair) Then against the Act of *Uniformity*, on the Behalf of the *Non-Conformists*; Who by the *One Law*, are secured in the Profits of their late *Disobedience*; And by the *Other*, are taken into the Arms of the *Church*, according to the *Ancient*, and *Common Rule*, with the Rest of His Majesties *Protestant Subjects*: The Same Rule, I say; saving where it is Moderated with *Abatements*, and *Allowances*, in Favour of Pretended *Scruples*.

N. C. Whereas you make the *Non-Conformists* the *Sole Actors* in *Our late Confusions*, You run your self upon a great Mistake: For——It hath been manifested to the World, by such as Undertook to Justify it, when Authority should require, [That the Year before the King's Death, A Select Number of Jesuits being sent from their whole Party
in

in England, Consulted both the Faculty of Sorbonne. and the Pope's Council at Rome, touching the Lawfulness and Expediency, of Promoting the Change of Government, by making away the King, Whom They Despaired to turn from his Heresse: It was Debated, and Concluded, in Both Places, That for the Advancement of the Catholick Cause, It was Lawful, and Expedient to Carry on that Alteration of State. This Determination was effectually pursued by many Jesuits, that came over, and Acted their Parts in several Disguises.
 Pag. 15.

C. If This be *True*, and *Proveable*; (as You affirm it is) You cannot do the *Protestant Cause* a more Important Service, then to make it out to the *Parliament*: *Who* (You know) *have judg'd the Matter Werthy of their Search, and have appointed a Committee to receive Informations.* Pa. 2. Nay, which is more, You are a Betrayer of the Cause if you do it not. *The WHOLE PARTY in England, do you say? Prove out This, and you kill the whole Popish Party at a Blow.*

Disc. of
Relig.
Part 1.

This was the Year before the King's Death, it seems: Whas not That within
 the

Toleration Discus'd.

the Retrospect of the Act of *Indemnity*? If so, tell me I beseech you, Why may not *We* take the same Freedom with the *Non-Conformists*, that *You* do with the *Papists*?

N. C. We shall never have done, if you lash out thus upon Digressions. Pray keep to the Question.

C. As close as you please. What if a Man should shew You a Considerable Number, of the Eminent, and Active *Instruments in the late War*, to be now in the Head of the present Outcry for *Toleration*? (Take This into your Supposition too, that *These very Persons* promoted Our Troubles, *This very Way*; and Proceeded from the *Reformation of Discipline*, to the *Diffolution of Government*) Are We bound in Charity to take all their *Pretensions of Scruple for real Tenderness of Conscience*?

N. C. Beyond all Question; unless you can either Evidence their *Error* to be *Unpardonable*, or the *Men Themselves*, *Impenitent*.

De Consci- C. Why then let *Amesius* determine
entiâ, lib. i] betwixt Us. [*Peccata illa, quæ publicè fu-*
4. cap. 15. *erunt nota, debent etiam Confessione Publi-*
câ dampnari; quia ad quos malum ipsum
Exempli Contagione pervenerat, ad eos
etiam

Toleration Discuss'd.

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etiam Pœnitentia, ac Emendationis Documentum, si fieri possit, delet transmitti.]

PUBLIQUE SINS require *PUBLIQUE CONFESSION*; To the End, that as many as were *mised* by the *Example*, may be *set right* again by the *Retraction*, and *Repentance*. This Conclusion pronounces All Those of the *old stamp*, that abused the People *formerly*, under Colour of *Conscience*; and are now at Work again, upon the *same Pretext*, without a *Publique Recantation*, to be in a State of *Impenitency*: and gives Us reasonably to presume, that if their *Consciences* can *Swallow*, and *Digest* a *Rebellion*, There is no great Danger of their being *Choak'd* with a *Ceremony*.

Another Thing is This; You do not plead for *Particular Judgments*; (In which Case, a Plea of *Conscience* may be allowed) But *every Man* urges the Equity (in Effect) of a *Toleration* for *all the Rest*. In which Number, You your selves do, severally, and jointly, acknowledge, that there are a great many People of *Insociable* and *Intolerable Principles*; such as in *Conscience* are not to be admitted. And yet herein also, You profess to be guided by Impulses of *Tenderness*, and *Piety*; although in Opposition to the whole Course
of

of your former *Declarations*, and *Proceedings*, that rise up in Judgment against You.

N C. If you grant, that there may be a Plea for *Particulars*, I shall not much trouble my self about *Generals*.

C. That Point shall come on in due time. But let us look a little further yet, into the *General Cause*; for if it be not *Conscience*, it is *Confederacy*.

S E C T. XIII.

The Conjunct Importunity of the Non-Conformists for a Toleration, is a Manifest CONFEDERACY.

C. **T**His appears, *First*, from the *Method* of their Proceedings; *Secondly*, from the *Natural Prespect*, and *Tendency* of that *Method*; *Thirdly*, from the *Nature* and *Quality* of their *Demands*, and *Arguments*; *Fourthly*; from the *Way*, and *Manner* of their *Addresses*, and *Applications*; *Lastly*; from their *Agreement* in Matters of *Dangerous Consequence* upon the *Peace* of the *Government*.

As to their *Method*; The *Non-Conformists*

formists of This Age tread in the very steps of their Predecessors : and This you may observe throughout the whole History of Them ; even from the first time that ever the Pretence of Popular Reformation set foot in his Majesties Dominions, unto This Instant. This is not a Place for a Deduction of Particulars at length ; But a Touch from Point to Point, will not be much amiss. Wherefore, if you please, Give me a Brief Accompt of the Non-Conformists. First, What kind of People they are ; Secondly, What It is They would have ; Thirdly, What will the Kingdom be the better for Granting their Desires ? Fourthly, What are their Grievances, as the Case stands with them at present ? Fifthly, What are they for Number, and Resolution ?

*N. C. They are a People Zealous of Religion, Pa. 43. An Intelligent, Sober sort of Men, and Numerous among all Ranks, P. 25. * Peaceable, and Useful in the Commonwealth ; Sound in the Faith ; Men of Conscience ; Evident Opposers of all Errors Pernicious to the Souls of Men, and of an Evil Aspect upon the Publique Peace.*

Disc. of
Relig.
Pars 1.
* Indulg.
& Toler. 1
P. 7.

C. Very Good : And were not the
H Con-

Spauwonds Conspirators that Seiz'd King *James*, at
H.A. Scott. *Ruthuen*, (1582.) as much as all This
P. 320, 322. amounts to? If You will believe either
Themselves, or the *Assembly* at *Edinburgh*
 in their behalf.

Petition to The Reforming *Non-Conformists* under
 the Queen, Queen *Elizabeth* were *Unreprovable* be-
P. 15. fore all Men; Her Majesties most Loyal
Gilby. Subjects, and God's Faithful Servants:
 [Most Worthy, Faithful, and Painful Mi-
 nisters; Modest, Watchful, Knowing in
 the Scriptures, and of Honest Conversati-
 on; (Learned, and Godly; says the Ad-
 monitioner, Pa. 25. And Martin Se-
 nior calls them, The Strength of Our
 Land, and the Sinew of her Majesties
 Government.

King's The Scotch Covenanters, in 1638. out-
 large De- did All This, for Zeal to his Majesties
 clar. P. 66. Person, and Authority: The True Religi-
 on, Liberties, and Laws of the Kingdom.

Ex. Coll. And the Two Houses at *Westminster*, In
P. 498. 1642. come not behind Them, in their
 Professions, for the Defence, and Main-
 tenance of the True Religion; The King's
 Person, Honour, and Estate, and the Just
 Rights, and Liberties of the Subject.

Here's Your Character: Now to Your
 Demands, What is it You would have?

N. C. (a) *A Reformation of Church- (a) T. v. Government, Liturgy, and Ceremonies. (b) A Papers of Bearing with weak Consciences: (c), and A Proposals, Relaxation of the Prescribed Uniformity.* pa. 5.

C. And This you will find to have been the Constant Pretence of the Non- Conformists, if you Consult their Story, from One End to the Other. [*Not to let loose the Golden Reins of Discipline, and Government in the Church; But to Unburthen the Consciences of Men, of Needless, and Superstitious Ceremonies, Suppress Innovations, and Settle a Preaching Ministry, &c.*]

Put the Case now, that you had your Asking; *What would the Kingdom be the better for it?*

N. C. It will be the better for the King, Church, Nobility, and Gentry. [*And there is No Nation under Heaven, wherein such an Indulgence, or Toleration as is desired, would be more Welcome, Useful, Acceptable; Or more Subservient to Tranquillity, Trade, Wealth, and Peace.*]

C. *Reformation no Enemy to Her Majesty and the State*, is the very Title of a Desperate Libel, Printed 1595. against Both. And the *Humb'le Motioner* tells

Toleration Discuss'd.

You, that it is for the Advantage of the Queen, Clergy, Nobility, and Commonalty; That the Wealth and Honour of the Realm will be Encreased by it, &c.

Ex. Coll.
Pa 3.

This was the Stile too of Our Reformers, in 1642. *The Securing of the Public Peace, Safety and Happiness of the Realm; And the Laying the Foundation, of more Honour, and Happiness, to his Majesty, then ever was Enjoy'd by any of his Royal Predecessors.*—Now speak your Grievances.

In 'ulg. &
Tol'er.

N.C. We are Excommunicated, Outlawed, Imprison'd. Our Families Starved, and Begger'd. P. 8. Proceeded against with Outward Punishments, Pecuniary, and Corporal, Nay Death it self. P. 9. [And all this while Trade languishes, Rents fall, Money scarce. P. 26. Never a greater Separation; Never a more General Dissatisfaction. P. 27.

Disc. of
Relig.

C. Pray'e say: Was it ever better, since Non-Conformists came into the World?

Snotswoods
Hist. Scoll.
P. 327.

Was not King James, a Favourer of the Enemies of God's Truth, and of Dissolute Persons? A Discountenancer of Godly Ministers? A Promise-Breaker to the Church; and a Perverter of the Laws; Inasmuch that No man could be assured of his Lands, and Life? Was

Toleration Discuss'd.

16.

Was it any better even under the Celebrated Government of Queen Elizabeth?

(a) There were Citations, Degradings, and Deprivations. (a) Petition to her Majesty, p. 25.
 (b) Some in the Marshalsey; Some in the White-Lion; Some in the Gatehouse at Westminster; (b) Second Admonit. p. 37.
 Others in the Counter, Or in the Clink, Or in Bride-well, Or in Newgate. [How many Good Mens Deaths have the Bishops been the Cause of? How many have they driven to leave the Ministry, and live by Physique? Or to leave their Countrey? Ibid. p. 25.
 [Poor Men have been miserably handled, with Revilings, Deprivations, Imprisonments, Banishments: and Out of This Realm, they have all the best Reformed Churches through Christendom against them. [If This Persecution be not provided for, great Trouble will come of it. First Admonit. p. 2. Second Admonit. p. 59.

How your Party demean'd Themselves toward the Late King, of Blessed Memory, in the matter of Calumny, and Reproach, You may read at large in that Grand, and Infamous Libel; *The Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom*, Ex. Coll. p. 3.
 Decemb. 15. 1642.

But after all This; What are these People, for Number, and Resolution, that make such a Clutter?

Indulg. &
Tolerat.

N. C. Thousands of the Upright of the Land. [Petition for Peace, Pag. 21.] Multitudes do Dissent, and Resolve to Continue so doing; Whatever they suffer for it. Pa. 20. And to forego the Utmost of their Earthly Concernments, rather then to Live and Die in an Open Rebellion to the Commanding Light of God in their Consciences. — To Ruine Men in their Substantials of B O D Y, and L I F E, for Ceremonies; is a Severity, which ENGLISHMEN will not, long time, by any means, give Countenance unto. Pa. 23. [To Execute Extremity upon an Intelligent, Sober, and Peaceable Sort of Men, so Numerous among all Ranks, may prove Exceeding Difficult, unless it be Executed by such Instruments as may strike Terror into the whole Nation. P. 25.]

Disc. of
Relig.
Pars I.

C. Was not Queen Elizabeth told of Thousands, and Hundreds of Thousands, that sigh'd for the Holy Discipline? And that since neither Parliament, nor Convocation-house would take it into Consideration, They might blame Themselves, if it came in by such Means, as would make all their Hearts Ake? The Truth will prevail (says the Demonstrator) in spite of your Teeth, and all the Adversaries of it. The

The most Unnatural, Causeless, and Horrible Rebellion, that This, or (perhaps) any other Age in the World hath been Acquainted with (To borrow the Words of his Late Majesty) *was Prefaced with a Petition in the Name of all the Men, Women, Children, and Servants, of Edinburgh, against the Service-Book: And Another, in the Name of the Noblemen, Gentry, Ministers, and Burgeses, against the Service-Book, and Book of Canons; Protesting afterwards, that if any Inconvenience should fall out, by reason of Preserving these Innovations, it was not to be imputed to Them, that sought all Things to be Reformed by Order.*

Large Declaration,
p. 53.

Ibid. p. 41,
42.

Ibid. p. 52.

Ex. Coll.
p. 8.

Ibid. p. 9.

This Commotion in Scotland, led the Way to Our succeeding Broils in England; Which were promoted by the like Artifices. Great Numbers of his Majesties Subjects, Opprest by Fines, Imprisonments, Stigmatizings; and Many Thousands of Tradesmen, and Artificers, Empoverish'd by a Generality, and Multiplicity of Vexations. [Great Numbers of Learned, and Pious Ministers Suspended, Deprived, and Degraded. In fine, from Pamphlets, they advanced to Petitions; from Petitions, to Tumults; and from thence, into a Formal State of War.

Toleration Discuss'd.

N. C. So that from *This Agreement in Method*, You will pretend to *Infer a Conformity of Design*.

C. From *This Agreement in Method*; and from the *Natural Tendency of This Method*, I think a Man may honestly Conclude, it can be Nothing else: and I doubt not, but upon a Sober Examination of the Matter, I shall find You of the same Opinion.

The most *Sacred* of all *Bonds* is That of *Government*, next to That of *Religion*; and the Reverence which we owe to *Humane Authority*, is Only Inferior to That which we owe to *God Himself*. This being duly Weighed, and that the *Lesser Obligation* must give place to the *Greater*. (As for Instance) *Reason of State*, to Matter of *Religion*, and *Humane Laws* to the *Law Divine*: What has any Man more to do, for the Embroyling of a Nation, but first to Puzzle the Peoples Heads with *Doubts*, and *Scruples*, about their Respective Duties to *God*, and *Man*; and then, to Possess them, that *This*, or *That Political Constitution*, has no Foundation in the *Holy Scriptures*? To bid Them *stand fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made them Free*, Galat. 5. 1.

And

And Finally, to Engage the *Name* of God, and the *Credit* of Religion in the Quarrel?

N. C. And do not you your self believe it better to Obey God, than Man?

C. Yes: but I think it best of all to Obey Both: To Obey God, for *Himself*, in *Spirituals*; and *Man*, for *God's* sake, in *Temporals*, as He is *God's* Commissioner. But tell me; Are you not Convinced, that the most likely way in the World to stir up *Subjects* against their *Prince*, is To Proclaim the *Iniquity* of his *Laws*, and then to Preach *Damnation* upon *Obedience*?

N. C. What if it be? Does it follow, because Religion may be made a Cloak for a Rebellion, That, therefore, It is never to be Pleaded for a Reformation?

C. Truly I have seldom known a *Conscientious* Reformation, accompanied with the Circumstances of Our Case. Here is, first, a *Character* of the *Non-Conformists*, drawn by *their own* Hand; and set off with such Flourishes of *Purity*, and *Perfection*, as if the *Scribes and Pharisees* Matth. 23. *Themselves* had fit for their *Picture*. In v. 23, 24. the *Second Place*, You demand, partly, a *Reformation*; partly, a *Toleration*: And
in

in the *Third*, You assure Us, that *all England shall be the better for't.* (Of These Two Points hereafter.) In the *Fourth*, You enlarge upon your *Grievances*; and instead of applying to the *Government*, on the behalf of the *People*, You are clearly upon the *Strein of Appeal* to the *People* from the *Rigour* of the *Government*. Your *Text* is *Liberty of Conscience*; But the *Stress* of your *Discourse* lies upon *the Liberty of the Subject*: The *Decay of Trade*, *Scarcity of Money*, *Fall of Rents*, The *Substantial* of *BODY*, and *LIFE*, *Imprisonment*, &c. Upon the *Whole*; Your *Writings* want nothing but *Form*, of a *Direct Indictment* of *King and Parliament* for *Persecution*, and *Tyranny*; And would very well bear the *Translation* of their *being led on by the Instigation of the Devil*, *Not having the Fear of the Lord before their Eyes*. If You can defend this manner of *Proceeding*, pray do it.

Disc. of
Relig.

N. C. What can be of greater *Concernment* to *Governours*, then to *Discern*, and *Consider* the *State* of their *People*, as it is indeed? And *Why* may it not be *Minded* of *Subjects*, and *spoken* of, without any *Hint*, or *Thought* of *Rebellion*?
Pag. 27.

C. But

C. But What can be of greater *Mischief* to *Governours*, then under *Colour* of *Remonstrating* to *Them*, the *State* of *their People*, at the Same time, to *dis-affect* the *People*, by an *Odious Account* of the *Errors*, *Misfortunes*, and *Calamities* of the *Government*? *Governours* are not to be told *their Faults* in the *Market-Place*; Neither are *Ministers* of the *Gospel*, by your own *Rules*, to be admitted for *Privy-Counsellors*. This is spoken as to the *Good Office* of your *Information*.

As to the *Intention* of it, I am not so bold, as to Judge your *Thoughts*: But if You had *any Drift at all* in it, and *Consider'd* what You *did*, I do not see, how You can acquit your self of *Evil Meaning*. Suppose the *Whole Invektive True*; And that you *suffer for Righteousness*. (to make the *Fairest* of it) What *Effect* do you expect these *Discourses* may have upon the *People*? and *What* upon the *Magistrate*? Will not every Man conclude, that the *English* are the *Wretched'st Slaves* upon the *Face of the Earth*? Neither *Liberty of Religion*, nor of *Person*, for any Man that makes a *Conscience of his Ways*: The *Whole Nation*, *Groaning* under *Beggery*, and *Bondage*. Now see *What Effects* these *Impressions* may rea-
sonably

sonably produce ; and Those Effects are as reasonably to be taken for the Scope of your Intention.

Turn now to the *Magistrate*, and say ; What Proportion do you find betwixt these Rude *Disobligations* upon the *Government*, and the Returns of *Grace*, and *Favour* You desire so Earnestly from it? On the Other Side ; if your *Report* be *False*, Your *Design* appears still to be the same ; Only with the Aggravations, of more *Animosity*, and *Malice* in Pursuance of it. But *True*, or *False*, it is Nothing at all to the Business of *Toleration*, but a *Palpable Transition* from matter of *Conscience*, to matter of *State*.

This is the Course, in General, of Our Advocates for *Toleration* ; and by the Desperate Sallies, they make, from *Religion*, to *Government*, in their *Pamphlets*, A Man may guess what it is they would be at in their *Pulpits*.

N. C. Oppression makes a *Wise* man mad ; and 'tis not Generous to Descant upon every thing, that is bolted in Heat, and *Passion*, as if it were a formed Discourse, upon *Deliberation*, and *Counsel*.

C. But is it not a strange thing (my Good Friend) for so many Men to be
Mad

Mad at a Time; and to be *Mad the Same Way too*? If you will have it, that they mean just *Nothing at all*, I am content; But if they mean *any thing*, and all agree in the *same Meaning*; It can be nothing else but a *Confederacy*.

The next Point makes it yet more Evident; that is to say, The Marshalling of their *Numbers*, and their *Thousands*; The Boast of their *Interest*, in all Parties, and of the *Difficulty* to *Suppress* them: The *Proclamation* of their *Resolution* to Live and Die in defence of their *Opinions*, with an *Innuendo*, of the *Magistrates* Meddling with them *at their Peril*. What can be the End of this *Rhedomontade*; but to startle the *Government*, on the One Side, and to animate the *Multitude*, on the Other? It is no Argument at all for an *Indulgence*, that they are *Many*, *Powerful*, and *Resolute*; But point blank against it: Unless they can approve themselves to be *Regular*, *Governable*, and *Honest*. To Sum up all; Here are *Faults* found in the *Government*; and the *People* Tamper'd into a *Dislike* of it; So that here's a *Disposition* to a Change, wrought *already*.

No sooner is the *Multitude* perswaded of the *Necessity* of a *Reformation*; but
behold

behold the *Manner* of it ; It must be either by a *Thorough-Alteration*, a *Comprehension*, a *Toleration*, or a *Connivence*. And for the Principal Undertakers, You may put your Lives in their Hands ; for (if they do not slander Themselves) They are as *Godly*, an *Intelligent Sort* of *People*, as a Man shall see in a Summers Day. Now, for the *Introducing* of This *Reformation*, there is no way, but to *set up the Word of God, against the Law of the Land*: By the *Un-Bishopping* of *Timothy*, and *Titus* ; and giving the People a Sight of the *Jewish Sanhedrim*, and *Gamaliel's Dilemma*, through a *Pair of Reforming Spectacles* ; By which, they discover the *Divine Right* of *Presbytery*, with One Eye ; and *That* of *Universal Toleration* with the Other ; and so become *One* in the *Common Cause* of *Maintaining Gospel Worship*, against *Humane Inventions*.

Acts 5.38.

The next Care is, to Gratifie the *Common People* ; for there's nothing to be done, till they come ; and there is no Reason in the World, that the poor Wretches should Venture Soul, Life, and Estate, *Gratis* ! This is Effected, by the Doctrine of *Liberty of Conscience*. For Grant but every Man a *Right*, of *Acting*, according to the *Dictate* of his *Conscience*,
and

and he has Consequently, a *Liberty* of *Doing* Whatsoever he shall pretend to be according to *That Dictate*; And of *Refusing* to do, whatsoever he shall say is *against* it: By which Invention, the *Laws of the Kingdom* are subjected to the *Pretended Consciences of the People*; and the *Multitude* are made the *Judges* of the *Controversie*.

Now comes in the *Joynt-Struggle* of the *Non-Conformists* for a *Toleration*. *This*, if it may be *obtain'd*, puts them in a *Capacity* of doing the *Rest, Themselves*. But in *Case of Opposition*, Their last *Resort* is to a *Mustering* of their *Forces*; A *Computation* of their *Strength*, and *Interests*; Which is the *Very same Thing*, as if they should say, in so many *Syllables*; *Gentlemen*; *You see the Parliament does not Regard Us*: *We have a Good Cause, and Hands enow to do the Work, in spite of their Hearts: UP AND BE DOING*. After *This*; There wants *Nothing*, but the *Word, The Sword of the Lord, and of Gideon*, To *Crown* the *Enterprize*. If *This* be not a *Conspiracy*, tell me *What Is*.

N.C. *You say, It is*; and *we deny it*.

C. There are *Strong Presumptions* also
of

of a *Confederacy*, to be gathered from the *Nature*, and *Quality* of your *Demands*. You desire a *Comprehension*, a *Toleration*; But then you place the *Conditions* of it, out of the Reach of *Ordinary Proof*, and indeed, of *Humane Cognizance*. (as is shew'd already) So that No Body knows, who are to be *Comprehended*, and who *left out*. This looks, as if your Business were rather to *enflame* the Difference, then to *compose* it. And then, when you are prest to *Name*, and Specifie the *Parties* you plead for; (since by your own Confession, several are to be Excluded) You fly still to the *Generalities*, of *Important Interests*, and *Congruous Principles*, and so leave the Matter utterly incapable of any Clear, and Logical Result; Unless you will allow *Governours* the *Inspection* of their *Subjects Hearts*: Or Teach us how to Reduce *Wild*, and *Uncertain Notions*, under the Prospect of a *Steady Law*. But the Reason of your Dealing thus in the dark, I suppose may be This: Your *Design* is to be carry'd on under the *Countenance* of the *Common Cause*, wherein, all those Persons are *United* against the *Government*, that would otherwise spend their *Animosities*, One upon Another, and break into a thousand Pieces among Themselves.

selves. Now for you to declare *for* any *One Party*, were *Virtually*, to *declare against* all the Rest, and Dissolve the *Combination*.

Touching the *Manner* of their *Addresses*, I shall only add, (to what is past) that they are *Invectives*, against those that *cannot* relieve them, without any *Formal Application* to those that *can*: And tend Naturally to the *Tumultuating* of the *People*, without any Colour of Contributing to their *Benefit*.

Of their *Agreement* in Matters of *Dangerous Consequence*, enough is spoken already, to put it past all Contradiction; That *Their Conjoint Importunity for a Toleration*, is a *Manifest CONFEDERACY*. Wherefore let us now proceed from the *Drift*, and *Design* of their *Pretensions*, to the *Morality*, and *Reason* of Them.

S E C T. XIV.

*The Non-Conformists Joynt Pretences
FOR A Toleration, overthrown, by
the Evidence of their Joynt-Arguments,
Professions, and Practises AGAINST
it.*

C. **D**O as you would be done by, is the Precept, both of *Gospel*, and *Nature*. With what face then, can you ask a Toleration from *That Government*, which of all Others, your selves refused to *Tolerate*? From *That Prince*, to whose *Blessed Father* (in the Depth of his Agonies) you cruelly deny'd the *Use*, and *Service* of his own *Chaplains*? [A greater Rigour, and Barbarity, then is ever used by *Christians* to the *Meanest Prisoners*, and *Greatest Malefactors*. But They that Envy me being a *King*, are loth I should be a *Christian*; While they seek to deprive me of all things else, they are afraid I should save my *Soul*. These are the Words of that Pious Prince in his last Extremity.

Ἐμὼν
Βασιλικῇ,
p. 207.

N. C. That Rigour was the Bar-
barism

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barism of a Faction, Not the Principles of the Party.

C. Hear your Party speak then. [*It is much, that our Brethren should separate from the Church; but that they should endeavour to get a Warrant, to Authorize their Separation from it, and to have Liberty (by drawing Members out of it) to Weaken, and Diminish it, till, (so far as lies in them) they have brought it to Nothing; This we think to be plainly Unlawful.*]

London Ministers Letter to the Assembly, Jan. 1. 1645.

Toleration would be the Putting the Sword in a Madman's hand; A Proclaiming Liberty to the Wolves, to come in to Christ's Flock to Prey upon his Lambs.

Harmony of the Lancashire Ministers. p. 12.

Extirpate all Achans, with Babylonish Garments, Orders, Ceremonies, Gestures; Let them be rooted out from among Us. You of the Honourable House, Up; for the Matter belongs to You. We, even All the Godly Ministers of the Countrey, will be with You.

Mr. Faircloth, on Josh 7.25.

Toleration makes the Scripture a Nose of Wax: A Rule of Faith to all Religions.

Rutherford's Free Disput. p. 360.

Liberty of Conscience, not Toleration of all, or any Religion, is so Predigious an Impiety, that this Religious Parliament cannot but abhor the very Naming of it.

Bay's Dissw five Epist Deds. 1645.

Sion-house
to the As-
sembly,
1645.
Anti-To-
leration,
p. 16.

Such a Toleration is utterly repugnant to, and Inconsistent with the Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation.

It is unreasonable (says the Defender of the London Ministers Letter to the Assembly) that Independents should desire That Toleration of Presbyters, which they would not give to Presbyters. For with what face can I desire a Courtesie from Him, to whom I do openly profess, I would deny the same Courtesie? Does not this hold as well for Us, as it did for You?

N. C. You must not Impose the Judgments of Particular Persons upon Us, as Instances of Publique Authority.

C. What do ye think then of your National Covenant? Was That an Act of Authority? Wherein you bind Your selves by an Oath, to settle an Uniform Presbytery, to the Exclusion of all other Forms of Church-Order, or Government whatsoever; (under the Notion of Schism) and of Prelacy by Name? Are your Consciences FOR Toleration Now, that were so much AGAINST it Then? Nay; there are many among you, that reckon your selves under an Obligation, to pursue the Ends of that Covenant, even to this

this very Day: And do you think it Reasonable, for a Government to grant *Privileges*, and *Advantages* of *Power*, and *Credit*, to a Party, that owns it self under an *Oath of Confederacy* to endeavour the *Extirpation* of it?

N. C. You mean I suppose of Church-Government.

C. I mean of Both Church, and State. Was it not the Test of the *King's Enemies*, as well as of the *Bishops*? Was it not made *Death without Mercy*, for any Man, having taken the *Solemn League and Covenant*, to adhere to his *Majesty*? The *League and Covenant* (says *Rutherford*) was the first Foundation of the Ruine of the *Malignant Party* in England. And whoever refuses to *Disclaim* it, must be rationally understood, still to Drive on the *Intent* of it. So that to *Tolerate* the *Non-Conformists*, is to *Tolerate* the *Sworn Adversaries*, both of *Royal*, and *Episcopal Authority*: Nay, to *Tolerate* Those that have Sworn to *persist* in that *Opposition*, all the Days of their Lives; Over and above the *Tolerating* of those upon Pretence of *Conscience* FOR a *Tolerati-on*, that deny to *Tolerate* all other People, upon as strong a Pretence of *Conscience* AGAINST it.

The Kirks
Testimony
against
Toleration
P. 10.

Acts and Ordinances, Part I. P 97. Where was This Spirit of *Moderation* toward *the weak Brethren*, in the *Total Suppression* of the *Book of Common-Prayer*; and the *Imposing* of the *Directory*, to be Observed in *all the Churches within*

Ibid. 165. *This Kingdom*? [No *Ruling Elders*, but such as have taken the *National Covenant*. No *Electors* of *Elders* neither, (by the Ordinance of *March 14. 1645.*) but such as have taken the *National Covenant*.

Ibid. 171. [No *Ordination*, without a *Testimonial* of having taken the *Covenant* of the *Three Kingdoms*. None to be *Admitted*, or *Entertained* in the *Universities*, without taking the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and the *Negative Oath*; and Upon Conditions of *Submission*, and *Conformity* to the *Discipline*, and *Directory*.

Nay further: You will find in the *Four Bills*, and *Propositions* sent to his Majesty in the *Isle of Wight*, (*March 1647.*) when the *Two Parties*, *Presbyterian*, and *Independent* were upon so hard a Tugg; That the *Presbyterian Government*, and Pa. 30, 31. *Directory* seem'd to be resolv'd upon in one *Line*, and *unsettled* again, in the *very next*. By a *Provision*: That no *Persons* whatsoever should be liable to any *Question*, or *Penalty*, for *Non-Conformity* to the *Form* of *Government*, and *Divine Service*

appointed in the Ordinances ; (then in Force) but be at Liberty to Meet for the Worship of God ; so as nothing might be done to the disturbance of the Peace of the Kingdom. Yet in This Crisis of Affairs ; they could clap in another stabbing Proviso against Us, upon the neck of That : i. e. That This Indulgence shall not extend to Tolerate the Use of the Book of Common-Prayer, in any Place whatsoever. And at this rate, you treated the Episcopal Party, throughout the whole Course of your Power.

N. C. And good Cause for it. Were not they the most likely of all others to disappoint our Settlement ?

C. Agreed. But as to the matter of Conscience ; Did you Well, or Ill in't ? Or rather, Was there any thing of Conscience in the Case ?

N. C. Certainly it was very fit for the Civil Power to look to it self : And the Power Ecclesiastical was no less concern'd to exact a Conformity to the Laws, and Ordinances of Christ.

C. How can you say This, and consider what you say, without blushing ? If you did well, in Refusing to Tolerate the Episcopal Way, because you thought it not Right ; the Reason is as strong for Our
 I 4 Way,

Way, that have the same Opinion of *Yours*: If you did *Well* on the *Other* side, out of a *Political* *Regard* to the *Publique* *Peace*, so do *We* now, upon *That* very *score*. So that you must either confess, that *You* did *Ill*, *Then*, in *Refusing* a *Toleration* to *Us*; or otherwise allow, that *Authority* does *Well*, *Now*, in not permitting it to *You*.

N. C. There might be some *Plea* for a little *Strictness* more than ordinary, in the *Heat* of an *Eager*, and *Publique* *Contention*: But methinks a *Persecution* in *Cold* *Blood*, does not sa-
bour of the *Spirit* of our *Profession*.

S E C T. XV.

The Non-Conformists **JOYNT-COMPLAINTS** of *Hard* *Measure*, and *Persecution*, confronted with *their own* **JOYNT-PROCEEDINGS**.

C. **W**Hat is it that you call *Hard* *Measure*, and *Persecution*?

N. C. *Pour* *Unmerciful* *Impositions*, upon *Tender* *Consciences*, by *Subscripti-*
ons,

ons, Declarations, &c. There are few Nations under the Heavens of God (as far as I can learn) that have more Able, Holy, Faithful, Laborious, and Truly Peaceable Preachers of the Gospel, (Proportionably) than Those that are now cast out in England, and are like in England, Scotland, and Ireland to be cast out, if the Old Conformity be still urged. [Ours is not a Wicked, Profane, Drunken Ministry.]

Petition
for Peace,
p. 4. 1661.

Mr. Calamy, Of the
Aik, p. 21.

C. That is, by Interpretation: God We thank Thee, that We are not as other Men are. — Nor even as these Publicans. But to the Matter.

These People that you speak of, are set aside for *not Obeying* the Law: But What do you think of those, that were turn'd out of their Livings, because they would not *Oppose* it? And they were *dispossess'd* too, by some of *the present Complainants themselves*: Who first came in at the *Window*, and now are turn'd out at the *Door*. No less than a *Hundred and fifteen* were Ejected here in *London*, within the Bills of Mortality (besides *Paul's* and *Westminster*) And the rest of the Kingdom throughout, was purged after that Proportion. Nor was it thought enough to *Sequester*, unless they *starv'd* them

them too ; for they were not allow'd to take the Employment, either of *School-Masters*, or *Chaplains*, but under Heavy *Penalties*. In *South Wales*, the *Gospel* was as well *Persecuted*, as the *Ministry*: The *Churches shut up*, and the People let loose to the Lusts and Corruptions of Unbridled Nature. The Only Pretence of *Justification* that the *Reformers* had, was That *Unchristian*, and *Unmanly Libel*, *WHITE'S CENTURIES* of *Scandalous Ministers*; wherein, without any Respect, either to *Truth*, or *Modesty*, They have Exposed so many Reverend Names, to *Infamy*, and *Dishonour*, for the better Colour of their own Sacrilegious Usurpations. But take This along with you, that *Loyalty* in those Days past for a Punishable, and Notorious *Scandal*.

N. C. These were Acts of Policy, and let *Statesmen* answer for them. But to have Men cast out of the Church, because they will not *Subscribe*, and *Declare*, contrary to their *Consciences*, is doubtless a most *Unconscionable Severity*.

C. And What is it in the *Subscription* (I beseech you) that you stumble at? As to the Acknowledgment of *his Majesties*

jesties Supremacy, I suppose, you would not be thought to stick at That. And in Matters of *Doctrine*, you make Profession to joyn with us: So that about the *Lawsfulness of using the Book of Common-Prayer, and your own Submission to the Use of it*, is the Only Question. Your Exceptions likewise to the *Declarations* seem to be very weakly grounded, unless you make a Scruple of Declaring your selves for the *Uniformity of the Church*, Or for the *Peace of the Civil Government*: In which Cases you cannot fairly pretend to be trusted in *Either*. But not to Extravagate. You are against the *Imposing of Subscriptions, and Declarations*, you say.

N. C. I am against the very *Imposition it self*, upon any Terms; But when They are prest upon *Grievous Penalties*, They are utterly *Intolerable*.

C. And yet when the *Common-Prayer* was abolish'd, There was a *PENALTY*, of Five Pound, for the first Offence; Ten for the Second; And a Years Imprisonment, without Bail or Mainprize, for the Third Offence, upon any Man that should use it. So that Here was an Interdiction of *Our Way of Worship* upon a *PENALTY*; and No notice taken of Invading

vading the *Liberty* of *Our Consciences*. By the same Ordinance, of *August 23. 1645*: was also commanded the Exercise and Order of the *Directory*; and *That* upon a **FORFEITURE** too: With a **PENALTY**, from *Five Pound* to *Fifty*, upon any Man, that should Preach, Write, or Print any thing to the Derogation of it. Now Here was *Rigor*, you see, on *Both Sides*: But no *Clamor*, upon the Matter of *Conscience* in *This Case* neither.

How many of *Our Ministers* were Poyson'd in *Peter-House*, And *Other Prisons*, either for *Worshipping* according to their *Consciences*, or *refusing* to *Act against* Them! No Man was admitted to his Composition without **SWEARING**; No Man to live in the *Parliaments Quarters* without **SWEARING**.

Neither were We only debarr'd the *Common Rights* of *Subjects*, and the *Benefits* of *Society*: But the *Comforts* of *Religion* were denied Us; And an *Anathema* pronounced upon Us for Our *Fidelity*. The *General Assembly* in *Scotland* Ordain'd, *That* known *Compliers* with the *Rebells*, and such as *Procured Protections* from the *Enemy*; or kept *Correspondence*, or *Intelligence* with *Him*, should be *Suspended*

ded from the Lord's Supper, till they manifested their Repentance before the Congregation. [Gillespy's Useful Cases of Conscience, Pag. 19, 20.] His late Majesty, in his Large Declaration of the Affairs of Scotland, Pag. 199. tells you, That Men were beaten, turn'd out of their Livings, Reviled, Excommunicated, Process'd, for NOT SUBSCRIBING the Covenant. And again, Pa. 202. That there was an OATH given at a Communion at Fife, Not to take the King's Covenant, Nor any other, but their own. Now, hear the Commissioners of the General Assembly, July 25. 1648. His Majestie's Concessions, and Offers, from the Isle of Wight, are to be by the Parliament Declared Unsatisfactory; Unless his Majesty give Assurance by SOLEMN OATH, under his Hand, and Seal, for Settling Religion according to the Covenant; before his R'stitution to his Royal Power,

But that I am loth to overcharge you, I could give you the History of the Spiritting several Persons of Honour for Slaves; The Sale of Three or Four Score Gentlemen to the Barbadoes; beside Plunders, Decimations, and infinite other Outrages, both Publique, and Private.

Give

Give me leave to mind you now a little of some few of Your General Provisions for the Destruction of the *King's Party*, and the Extirpation of that *Family*, and *Government* to which Providence has once again Subjected you.

- (a) Scob. (a) *An Ordinance for Sequestration of*
 Acts, Pars *Delinquents Estates.* (b) *Delinquents*
 1. P. 37. *Disabled to bear any Office, or have any*
 (b) P. 135. *Vote in Election of any Major, &c. Here's*
Estate, and Legal Freedom gone already:
 Now follows *Banishment* from One Place,
 (c) Pars 2. and *Confinement* to Another. (c) *Delin-*
 P. 10. *quents must be removed from London and*
Westminster, and Confined within five
 (d) P. 175. *Miles of their own Dwelling.* (d) *Cor-*
respondency with Charles Stuart, or his
Party, prohibited, under Pain of High
 (e) P. 372. *Treason; and (e) Death to any Man, that*
shall attempt the Revival of his Claim, or
that shall be Aiding, Assisting, Comfort-
ing, or Abetting, unto any Person endea-
vouring to set up the Title of Any of the
Issue of the Late King.

Where were the *ABLE, HOLY,*
FAITHFUL, LABORIOUS,
 and *TRULY PEACEABLE*
Preachers of the Gospel, with the Tender
Consciences you talk of, when These
Things were a Doing? Truly, Neither
 Better

Better nor Worle, then up to the very Ears, a great many of them, in the Main Action. Some, Preaching up the *Conscience* of the War; Others, Wheedling the City out of their *Money* to *Maintain* it; and Calling for more *Blood* in *Prosecution* of it. Till in the Conclusion, The *King*, and the *Government*, fell in the *Quarrel*: And the *Pulpits* all this while at hand, to *Patronize* the *Reformation*.

N. C. This Kipping up of Old Stories, does but widen the Breach, without doing any Good at all.

C. If you would not *hear* of these things again, you should not *do* them again.

N. C. Then it seems the *Whole* must suffer for some *Particulars*.

C. No, not so. But neither must the *Whole* go *Scot-free* for some *Particulars*. Would you have me open my Door to a Troop of Thieves, because there are four or five Honest Men in the Company? That there are divers *Conscientious*, and well-minded Men among the *Non-Conformists*, I make no Question. But I am yet Positive in This, that the *Non-Conformists*, in *Conjunction*, are in a Direct *Conspiracy*; and that when they come

come once to *agree* in a *Publique Complaint*, It is no longer *Conscience*, but *Faction*. This by the By. — Now to the Matter before Us; I have given you a Breviate of *your own Proceedings*, in the very Case of your Present *Complaints*. Lay your Hand upon your Heart, and bethink your self, who are the *Persecutors*.

N. C. Let the *Persecution* rest where it will; I am fully perswaded, that there is no *Settling* of this Kingdom in a State of *Security, Peace, and Plenty*, without an *Indulgence, or Toleration*.

S E C T. XVI.

The Non-Conformists tell us, That Liberty of Conscience is the Common Interest of This Kingdom; but REASON, and EXPERIENCE tell us the CONTRARY.

C. **T**Hat We may not spend our selves in *Repetition, Cavil, or Confusion*; Take Notice, that 'tis the *General Cause* of the *Non Conformists*, which is coming under Debate. For *That Toleration*

ration which the *Whole Party* desires, must needs be a *Toleration* of the *Whole Party*: And *That I Oppose*; in Confidence, that I have *Reason*, and *Experience* on my side. We have spoken already, as to the *Unlawfulness*; and somewhat likewise, to the *Dangerous Consequences* of it: Together with the *Unruly Opinions*, and *Practices* of several of the Pretenders to it. We are now to look a little further into it, with a more Immediate regard to the *Common Interest* of the *Kingdom*, which we may place in the Concernments of *Religion*, *Government*, *Peace*, and *Plenty*.

To begin with *Religion*: I do not Understand, how That which delights in *Unity*, shall be advantaged by *Division*, and *Fraction*.

N. C. As if there could be no *Unity* of *Doctrine*, without *Uniformity* of *Discipline*. The Precept is; *One Lord*, *One Faith*, *One Baptism*: And not *One Way*, *One Form* of *Worship*.

C. I might tell you, that it is of *Ancient*, and *Unreprovable Practice*, for every *National Church* to appoint its own *Platform* of *Service*, and *Ceremonies*; And to require *Obedience*, and *Conformity* to *That Model*, and to *Those Rites* respectively,

tively, from all its Members. But This I shall not insist upon. There is *no Precept* (you say) for any *One Way*, or *Form*. But can you shew me, that an *Uniformity of Service*, and *Rituals* is any where *forbidden*?

Disc. of
Relig.
Pars I.

N. C. *Not in Particular: But in the General Prohibition of all Uncommanded Worship, Pag. 26.*

C. The Matter in short is This. Either We *have* a *Rule* in the *Gospel* for the *Manner* of Our *Worship*; Or we have *None*. If there be *No way* of *Commanded Worship*, left us, by *Christ*, and his *Apostles*; And all *Uncommanded Worship* be (as you say) *forbidden*, There must be *No appointed Worship at all*; and *Then*, every Man is at *Liberty*, Not only to *Worship* after what *Manner* he pleases, but (effectually) to *Chuse*, Whether he'l *Worship*, or *No*: Which brings in all sorts of *Heresies*, and *Blasphemies*; and Countenances even *Atheism* it self. Now, on the other Hand; If there be any *Particular Manner of Worship* Prescribed in the *Word of God*; from *That Particular Manner*, we must not presume to *Vary*, by a *Toleration* of any *other Way* then *That*; or of *More*, then *One*. Besides, that it undermines the

Foun-

Foundation of all *Communities*, to deny the *Civil Authority* a Right of Interposing in such Cases, as are Neither *Com-manded*, nor *Forbidden*, by *God*.

Let us next Consider the *Probable Effects* of a *Toleration*, in respect of the *Parties* pretending to it. Which are, either *Presbyterian*; Or (in a Sense of Contradistinction) *Independent*. The *Former* are for a *Subordination* in Churches. The *Other* for an *Independency*: (according to their *Denomination*) *These* are for *Gather'd Congregations*; The *Other*, for *Parochial*.

I will not trouble you with the *Argumentative Part* of the Differences betwixt them; About the *Subordination*, or *Co-ordination* of *Churches*; The *Redundance*, or *Defect* of *Church-Officers*; The *Re-ceptacle* of the *Power of the Keys*, and the like: But *Nakedly*, and *Briefly*, shew you the *Kindness* they have for *One Another*; The *Regards* they have for *Christian Charity*, in the *Menage* of the *Quarrel*; and Then leave you your self to *Judge*, what may be the *Event* of such a *Toleration*, as to *RELIGION*.

The *Seſtaries* (says *Edwards* in his *Gangræna*) agree with *Julian* the *Apo-*
K. 2
ſtate,

state, P. 54.] They are *Libertines*, and *Atheists*, P. 185.] *Unclean, Incestuous*, P. 187.] *Drunkards*, P. 190.] *Sabbath-Breakers, Deceivers*, P. 191.] Guilty of *Gross Lying, Slandering, Juggling, Falsifying their Words and Premises: Excessive Pride, and Boasting*, P. 192.] *Insufferable Insolences, Horrible Affronts to Authority*, P. 194.] There never was a more *Hypocritical, False, Dissembling, Cunning* Generation in *England*, then many of the *Grandees* of those *Seſtaries*.—They Encourage, Protect, and Cry up for *Saints, Sons of Belial, and the Vileſt of Men*, P. 240. *Gangrana's Second Part, 1646.* — See Now the *Other Party* doe as much for the *Presbyterians*.

The Presbyterian Government is Anti-Christian, Tyrannical, Lordly, Cruel, a worſe Bondage then under the Prelates; A Bondage under Task-Maſters, as the Iſraelites in Egypt: A Preſumptuous, Irregular Conſiſtory, which hath no Ground in the Word of God. Barrow, P. 79.] A Vexations, Briery, Thorny, Perſecuting Preſbytery. [Pulper Incendiary, P. 26.] Formidable to States and Free Kingdoms. [Mr. Nyc.] The Aſſembly is Antichriſtian, Romiſh, Bloody, the Plagues, and Piſts of the

the Kingdom; *Baal's Priests*. [Gangræna's Second Part, 230.] *The Seed of God in This Nation has had Two Capital Enemies, The Romish Papacy, and the Scotch Presbytery*. [Serry's England's Deliverance, P. 7.] An *Ambaptist* said, that *He hoped to see Heaven and Earth on fire, before Presbytery should be settled*; [Edwards his Gangræna.] *Barrow* calls the *Consistorians, Dangerous, and Pestilent Seducers; Ravening Wolves*, which come to Us in *Sheeps Cloathing*.]

This is enough to shew you the Mutual, and Implacable *Enmity*, and *Opposition* of the *Two Grand Parties*, which, you are now perswading your self, might be gratified, by a *Common Indulgence*. Let me further Mind you, that the *Strife* ended not there Neither, but proceeded to *Blood*: And that, so soon, as they had Master'd the *Government*, in a *Combination*, under the Masque of *Reformation*, and *Conscience*; *They parted Interests*, and Upon the *Very same Pretext*, Engaged in a *Second War*; and fell foul, *One upon the Other*. Wherein they sufficiently Manifested to the World, that they fought, not for *Forms*, and *Ceremonies*; but for *Booty*, and *Dominion*. No less to the *Scandal* of the *Religion of England*,

land, then to the Ruine of the Monarchy.

N. C. You are not to stop my Mouth with Instances of Tumults, and Faction, in a Peaceable Plea for Religion, and Conscience.

C. Do not you know, that Toleration is as good, as an Issue in a Government? All the Vicious Humours in the whole Body flow that way. But Suppose it Conscience; Are the Dissenters ever to be Reconciled? Shall we not have New, and Monstrous Opinions Propagated daily? And will it not be every Man's business, to Advance the Credit, and Authority of his own Party? Where is the Bond of Peace, in this Exercise, and Latitude of Dissention? The Unity of the Church, in this Multiplicity of Professions? Which is the True Religion, among so many divided, and contradictory Pretenses to it? Or rather; Is there any Religion at all, where there is neither Christian Charity, Stability of Principles, Reverence, or Agreement, in God's Worship?

N. C. I hope you will not deny the Protestant Interest to be the Interest of the True Religion: And undoubtedly, the bringing of the Protestants into an Union among Themselves, is the Advantage of every

every Protestant State,] and of Protestantcy it self.

C. Past all Dispute; and an Uniformity of *Worship* brings them into that Union; Which is never to be attained, while the World endures, by a *Liberty of Conscience*. How was the *Protestant Interest* (I beseech you) *United* in the late *Dissolution of Government*; When Every Man did that which was Right in his own Eyes? Examine the Story well, and you will find Reason to believe, that the Church of Rome has gain'd more upon Us, since That *Unsettlement of Ecclesiastical Order*, then perchance from the first hour of the *Reformation*, even unto That very Day. For *Liberty of Conscience*, did no less bring a *Civil War* upon the *Protestant Religion*, then the Pretended *Liberty of the Subject* did upon the State. It turn'd every Man's Hand against his Brother. Every Man had a Religion to Himself, and every Man's Conscience (as I told you) was his Bible; and We are still to presume, that like Causes will produce like Effects.

It is also remarquable, that the lowdest, and boldest Declamers against the Orders of the Church, proved likewise, the most Pragmatical, and Audacious Invaders of

the *Civil Peace*; The *Antecedent Schism* serving only for a *Prologue* to the *Ensuing Sedition*.

Disc. of
Relig. Par.
I. p. 40.

N. C. This Arraignment of their sup-
posed Principles, about Government,
may haply proceed upon Mistake. There
is Reason to think, that the many late Di-
sputes, about Prerogative, and Liberty,
are *Controversiæ ortæ, non primæ*; that
they had their Rise from something else,
which lies at the Bottom.

C. This is but Peradventure I, Perad-
venture No. For if a Man may haply
be in a Mistake, he may haply too be in
the Right. I will grant ye likewise, that
the Disputes about Prerogative, and Li-
berty, had their Rise from somewhat else,
which lay at the Bottom. That is to say;
It was not Purity of Religion, Reforma-
tion of the Liturgie, Retrenching the Ex-
orbitant Power of Bishops, or Scruple of
Conscience, (as pretended) that wrought
the Subversion of Church, and State;
but it was the Design, which lay at the
Bottom, of Carrying on the Great Work
of Overturning the Government, under
Countenance of that Plausible Imposture,
and Disguise.

Disc. of
Relig. Par.
I. p. 41.

N. C. Inclinations, and Interests,
more than Speculative Opinions, will
be

be found to have born the Sway, and Caused those Active Motions, on the One Hand, and the Other. These Dogmata, or Problems about Obedience, and Government, do but little, where Mens Affections, and Concernments do not give them Spirit, and Vigor.

C. It is most Certain, that Problems draw no Blood; and We do not read, that ever any Man's Throat was cut, with a Speculation, or a Syllogism; But yet, Inclinations, and Interests (you allow) may do much, towards Mischief: So that, I have what I desire, if I am but able to make it out, that Liberty of Conscience will, most indubitably, beget strong Inclinations in the People, to shake off the Yoke of Government; and that they will not want specious Appearances of Interest so to Do.

First; The Servants of Jesus Christ (as the Non-Conformists peculiarly stile themselves) have This Advantage of the Subjects of Temporal Princes; that They serve the Better Master: and the Dignity of their Spiritual Profession supersedes the Duty of their Political Allegiance. (So often, as they shall think Good, to stand upon That Privilege) By Virtue of which Prerogative, they do not only Claim

an *Exemption* from the *Obligation*, and *Reach* of *Humane Laws*; But a *Commis-*
sion also, and *Authority*, to *Reform* those
Laws, (in Case of *Error*, and *Corruption*) according to the *Standard* of the *Go-*
spel. Now to this *Principle*, and *Do-*
ctrine, do but add *Liberty of Conscience*;
 and the *People* have *Law*, and *Magi-*
stracy at their *Mercy* already. For *First*;
 they reckon themselves no further *answe-*
rable either to the *One*, or to the *Other*,
 then as they find them *Warranted* in, and
Grounded upon the *Word of God*. And
Secondly; they may chuse whether or no,
 they will find any *Law*, or *Magistrate*,
 whatsoever, to be so *Warranted*, or *Ground-*
ed; And consequently, Whether there
 shall be any *Government*, or *No*. *One*
Man's Conscience cannot allow *This*, or
That Injunction to be according to *God's*
Word: It may be *Lawful* to *Another*,
 but it is not so to *Him*; and *Hee* calls for
Indulgence, and *Moderation*. *Another*
Man's Conscience swears by the most
 High God, that it is *point-blank* *Against*
 it; and nothing will serve *Him*, but utter
Extirpation. And whatsoever they call
Conscience, must pass for *Current*. Every
 Man is to govern himself by *his own Opi-*
nion; not by *Another bodies*. It is no
 longer

longer *Liberty of Conscience*, if a Man shall be run down, and concluded, by *Prescription, Authority, Consent of Fathers, Scripture, Reason*, and the like, without being *CONVINCD*.

N. C. I thought you would have shew'd me in what manner, or by what means *Liberty of Conscience* comes to turn the *Hearts*, and *Interests* of *Subjects* against their *Superiors*, as you said you would.

C. A little *Patience*, and I'll be as good as my Word. It has brought us to this pass, already, you see, that it has cast the *Government* upon the good *Nature* of the *Multitude*, and made it purely dependent upon the *Breath* of the *People*, whether it shall *Stand*, or *Fall*. So that (in short) the Matter in *Question*, falls under these *Two Considerations*. *First*; Whether a *People*, left to *Themselves*, either to be under the *Restreint* of *Laws*, or not, will not rather agree to cast off a *Government*, then to defend it. *Secondly*; Whether they will not, likewise, find a very fair appearance of *Interest*, and *Advantage*, in so doing. The *Former*, I think, will easily be *Granted*, by any Man that does but advise either with the *Common Practises* of the *World*, or with
Humane

Humane Frailty: Taking the *World*, either in *Individuals*, or in *Parties*.

What says the *Artificer*, the *Tradesman*, the *Farmer*? Why should *We* be put upon Extremities of *Hard Labour*, *Coarse Fare*, *Rising early*, and *Going to Bed late*? (and all little enough to keep our Families from starving) any more then *such*, and *such*; that lie wallowing in *Ease*, *Abundance*, *Luxury*, and *Riot*? But *This we may thank the Law for*; that has *Appropriated* those *Possessions* to *Particulars*, which God *Almighty* gave us in *Common*. Why should *We* be the *Drudges* of the Kingdom? (says the *Day-Labourer*) The *Law* is *Their Enemy* too, because it keeps them in *Awe*, that they dare not *Steal*. It is the same Case, with *Traytors*, *Felons*, *Vagabonds*, and all *Criminals*. And so it is with *Factions*, and *Associated Parties*; *We* might set up *This Government*, or *This Church*; and *We*, *T'other*, (say they) if it were not for Those Accursed *Laws*, that make it *Death* to Endeavour such an *Alteration*. This is a True, and Naked Account of the Peoples *Thoughts*, and *Reasonings*, in the Point of *Liberty*, and *Obedience*: and a sufficient Proof of their *INCLINATION* (not against *This*, or *That*; but) against

against *any Establishment* : It being the main End of *Government*, to secure the *Community* against the *Encroachments*, and *Attempts of Particulars* : Though to the very great *Damage*, and *Ruine*, (many times) of *Private Persons*, and *Parties*.

If you be satisfied now, that the *People* do not Naturally love *Government*, you need not doubt but they will judge it their *INTEREST* to Remove it : Every *Male-Content*, entreteining himself with hopes of mending his Condition upon the Change. But Alas ! This is not an Undertaking for *Single Persons*, *Small Parties*, or *Petty Factions*, by *Themselves* apart ; but some *Common Medium* must be found out, for the *Uniting* of them *All* ; which, indeed, is amply provided for, in the Project of *Liberty of Conscience* : and does not only facilitate the Work, by drawing the *Disaffected* into a *Body* ; but it does also *Countenance*, and *Encourage* it, by *Authorising* the *Separation*.

N. C. But to Me, it seems, on the Contrary, that an *Indulgence* would set Indulg. & the *Peoples Minds* at *Liberty* from *Fears* Toler.p.24 and *Contrivances*, for the avoidance of *Impendent Dangers* ; and encourage them to engage

engage the Utmost of their Endeavours and Abilities, in the Businesses of Peace, and Security.]

C. As to the *Security*, and *Peace* of the *Publique*, if enough be not already said, you may repair to the History of our late Broils, for the rest: Where you will also find the Condition of *Particulars*, to have been every jote as *Distracted*, and *Unquiet* (in proportion) as That of the *Government*.

You are to expect *Schisms* in *Corporations*, *Companies*, *Families*; as well as in *Religious-Congregations*: *Divisions*, as well betwixt *Parents*, and *Children*; *Masters*, and *Servants*; as betwixt *Rulers*, and *Subjects*: *Feuds* betwixt *Man*, and *Wife*; betwixt *Brethren*, *Kinred*, *Friends*; and all these *Differences*, variously Influenced, according to the *Benignity*, or *Malignity* of their *Divided Opinions*. Nor will it be any wonder, (upon admittance of *This Liberty*) to have as many *Religions* in a House, as *Persons*: where the *Husband* draws one way, the *Wife*, another; and the Rest of the *Family* have *Their ways* by *Themselves*, too. And This goes on, (to the utter Extermination of *Order*, *Duty*, and *Quiet*) till they have thoroughly wearied themselves, with Tossing,

sing, and Tumbling from *one Sect*, or *Profession*, to *another*. And then, when they are at their Wits End, they commonly take up in the *Church of Rome*, with an *Implicite Faith*, in the Conclusion.

Now if what I have said, may be of force sufficient to prove, that *Liberty of Conscience*, is *destructive*, both of *Religion*, and *Government*; and of the *Peace of the Kingdom*, as well *Private*, as *Publicque*. I cannot see how it should advance us, (as is earnestly suggested) in the Business of *Trade*, and *Plenty*.

N.C. We shall never have a Flourishing Trade without it: Because the Pressure in these things falls generally more upon the Trading sort of Men, than any in the Nation. We may see it in the Great City, and in all Corporations: It makes many give over Trading, and Retire; It makes others remove into Holland, and other Forreign Parts; as it did heretofore from *Portwich*, to the Irrecoverable Prejudice of our Cloathing Trade, upon the like Occasion; And it certainly prevents all Protestant Strangers to come to Libe, and Trade among us.

Liberty of
Consc. p.
58, 59.

C. The Pressure (you say) falls most upon *TRADERS*; I answer, that
you

you begin with a *Non Constat* ; for *the Thing it self does not appear*. And then, you make *Traders more Scrupulous* then the rest of the Nation, who are not Generally understood to be *more Conscientious* ; as having divers Temptations in the way of their Employments, to strein a Point of *Conscience* now and then ; and they are but *Men*, as well as their *Neighbours*. If your *Observation* be *Right* ; We may thank the *Nonconforming Ministers*, who have had the handling of them.

Your urging, that *want of Liberty makes many give over Trading, and Retire*, does not agree with their Observation, that place their Wonder on the other side, that so many *Hold* ; considering the Circumstances of a long, and Expensive *War* with the *French, and Dutch*. (The most Expensive that ever this Kingdom undertook) And Two of the most dreadful, and destroying *Judgments* that ever Almighty God laid upon this Nation, *i. e. Pestilence, and Fire*, one upon the neck of another.

You object, *the Removal of others into Holland, as formerly*. Indeed it is not for the Credit of your Cause to mind us of those that formerly left us. Take the

Peius

Peins to read *Bayly's Dissuasive*, Pa. 75. and there you shall see what Work they made in *Holland*: Even such, that *Peters* himself was scandalized at it; quitted his Congregation, and went to *New-England*. *Bridg*, *Sympson*, and *Ward*, renounc'd their *English Ordination*, and took *Ordination* again from the *People*. The *People*, after this, *deposed* Mr. *Ward*; and the *Schism* betwixt *Sympson's Church*, and *Bridg* his, was so fierce, that their Ministers were fain to quit their Stations; and the *Dutch Magistrate* forc'd to interpose the *Civil Authority* to quiet them. In *New England*, their Humour, and Behaviour not much Better (according to the Report of the same Author, *Pag. 60, 61.*) Of *Forty Thousand Souls*, not a *Third Part* would be of any Church; and such *Heresies* started, as a Man would tremble to Recite. If only such as *These* forsake us, the Land has a good Riddance.

Further; If it was to the Prejudice of our *Cloathing Trade*, (This Separation) Who can help it? It was Their Fault to betray the Interest of their Country, by teaching the Mystery to *Forreigners*; but no blame at all can be reflected upon the *Government*, for Refusing *Toleration* to such *Lawless*, and *Unruly Libertines*.

Now, *as to the hindring of Protestant Strangers from coming over to us, and Trading with us*, It is a clear Mistake, to imagine the Church of England to be such a *Bugbear* to those of the *Reformation abroad*, as is pretended. (Which shall hereafter be made appear) It is not the Act of *Uniformity* that hinders *Strangers*, but the want of an Act of *Endenisation*; which, perchance, the Wisdom of future Times will find convenient, for the *Supply*, and *Repair* of that *Depopulation* which is brought upon us by our *Colonies*.

But to come to an Issue. How was it with *Trade*, when *Conscience* took the full *Swinge*? It brought on a *War*; and so it must again, or a *Standing Army* to prevent it. How many Families were ruin'd, on the one side, with pure *Benevolence* to the Cause, in *Contributions*, and *Entertainments* to the *Devourers of Widows Houses*, and the *Captivators of silly Women*? And on the other side, as many were undone with *Taxes*, and *Plunder*. How went *Trading* on, when all Business was neglected, but Galloping up and down to *Lectures*, to hear *News*, and *Sedition*? When *Prentices* robb'd their *Masters*, and took *Sanctuary* in the *Service*? When *Publique Faith* was a
Tradesmans

Tradesmans best *Security*; and the whole Nation held *Life*, and *Estate*, at the good Pleasure of a *Close Committee*?

N. C. Let Liberty of Conscience be once *FITLY* given, and the Root of all Mens Hopes, and Pretensions, that desire *Publique Mischief*, is pull'd up. Liberty of Conscience, p. 58.

C. *FITLY*, will be well indeed; But (with your Favour) what is the meaning of *FITLY*? How shall we agree upon the *Dos*? Unless you intend, that the *Magistrate* is to continue *Giving*, till the *Subject* shall leave *Asking*. And That must be: For, If ever he thinks of holding his hand sooner, he had better have done nothing.

N. C. But what Colour will there be for any further *Exception*?

C. The very same they have now. *New Scruples* will bolt *New Demands*: And Beside; I should be glad if you would furnish me with any one Instance, where the *Non-Conformists* were ever the better for *Indulgence*.

S E C T. XVII.

This Kingdom *has been still the Worse for Indulging the Non-Conformists, and the Party never the Better. Which evinces, that UNIFORMITY is the True Interest of This Government, and Not Toleration.*

C. **U**PON *Queen Elizabeth's* coming to the *Crown*, Those *Non-Conformists*, that fled, in *Queen Mary's* Days, and Separating from the *English Congregation at Francfort*, went off to *Geneva*, came back again for *England*: and with their *Libels, Clamours, Private Consultations, and Meetings*, gave Trouble enough to the *Government* for the *Ten first Years* of her *Majesties* Reign; who was, at that time, so beset, with the *Roman Catholics*, on the *One Hand*; and the *Puritans*, on the *Other*, that she thought it well, upon that Pinch, to *save her self*, without Exercising *Rigor*, and *Severity* upon either Party. This *Impunity* gave them the Confidence, a while after, to declare themselves for the *Geneva Discipline*,

plin^e, and (in the Fourteenth of Her Reign) by an Audacious *Pamphlet* (under the Title of *An Admonition*) to press the *Parliament* to a *Reformation*. The Principal *Abettors* of This *Libel* were Discover'd, and Clapt up; And soon after, out comes a *Second Admonition*; telling the *Parliament*, in *Plain English*, that, if *Authority* would not, they must set it up *Themselves*. And it was not long, ere they were as good as their Words, by *Erecting* several *Formal Presbyteries* up and down the Kingdom. (As appeared, upon Undeniable *Proof*, and *Confession* of *Parties* to the *Combination*) They had their *Synods*; their *Classical*, and *Provincial Conferences*; Pronounc'd their *Decrees*: Concurring in the main against *Bishops*, *Ceremonies*, and *Common Prayer*. They had their *Agents* throughout the Kingdom, upon a strict *Survey* of the *Value* of every *Benefice*; the *Number* of *Parishioners*; Their *Quality*, manner of *Life*, and *Conversation*. Their *Book of Discipline* was long upon the *Anvile*; but at length, (about 1586.) it was *Finished*, *Communicated*, and *Subscribed*: with a *Promise*, to observe it *Themselves*, and to use all *Lawful*, and CONVENIENT Means to further, and advance it. In

Camden's
Eliz. 1591.

Conclusion; the whole Matter came to be Detected; *Cartwright, Snape*, and several of the *Ringleaders*, were *Examin'd*, and *Committed*: Whereupon, *Coppinger, Arthington, Hacket, Wigginton, &c.* Entered into a *Conspiracy* for their *Deliverance*; and to have the Blood of every Man that should dare to give his *Vote* against them, in the *Star-Chamber*; nay, to *Depose the Queen* her self, in Case of her *Refusal* to promote the *Reformation*. And all this, not without the *Privy*, and *Tacit Approbation* of the most considerable *Ministers of the Party*.

This was the blessed Fruit of *Lenity*, and *Forbearance* under *Queen Elizabeth*; The *Law* *fastled* out by a *Faction*; A *Plot* upon the *Life* of the *Queen*, and *Counsel*, carried on, under Colour of *Religion*, and *Reformation*.

N. C. Still I perceive, you pick out the foulest Cases, and Instances you can lay hold on, to *Match* with *Ours*.

C. Is it not rather your *Misfortune*, to write after the foulest Copies? But to the *Business*: What would you say, if his Majesty now in being, had *Queen Elizabeth's* Game to Play? Apprehensions of his *Life*, from *Jesuits*, Both *Protestant*, and *Papist*? The whole Generation of the
Non-

Non-Conformists United against his *Person*, and *Government*; as well in *Judgment*, as in *Faction*? (which are here divided into a Thousand Disagreements) You would (beyond all peradventure) give the *Government* for *lost*, without an immediate Recourse to an Act of *Indulgence*, and *Accommodation*, to preserve it. But the *Policy* of *Those Times* made Choice rather of *another Course*; Some were *Imprison'd*; Others, put to *Death*; according to the Demerit of the Offence.

N. C. Are you for *Punishing Inconformity* with *Death* then?

C. No, by no means; *Hack't*, you know, was not put to *Death* for *Inconformity*, but for *Treason*. And pray let me give You a Brief of his Story, as *Cambden* delivers it.

He was born at *Oundle* in *Northamptonshire*; a *Poor*, *Insolent*, *Ill-natured*, and *Illiterate Fellow*. He married a *Widow*, spent her Fortune in *Riot*; and when he had Nothing else to Trust to, betook himself to the *Imposture* of *Religion*, and an *Affectation* of the *Geneva Discipline*: So far Ingratiating himself with several of the Prime Zealots of *That Profession*, that they did him the Honour to make Him of their *Council*, in their *Grand De-*

Cambden's
Eliz 1591.

sign, (to the *Execution* whereof, He also pretended an *Extraordinary Call*, and *Commission* from *Above*) He was (in Conclusion) *Apprehended*, *Charged* with *Treason*, found *Guilty*, *Condemn'd*, and *Executed*.

Now to shew you the *Devil himself*, in the shape of an *Angel of Light*, This *Hacket*, as He was upon the *Hurdle*, in the way to his *Execution*, never left Calling upon Almighty God, with *Hideous Outcries*: **And Now behold**

Ibid.

(*says he*) the Heavens are Open, and the Son of the most High coming down to Deliver me. When he was come to the Place of Execution, He prosecuted his Blasphemies, with more *Harsh*, and *Furious* Exclamations: [Heavenly, and Almighty God; Thou that art the Alpha, and Omega; Lord of Lords, and King of Kings; Thou Eternal God; That knowest ME to be the
True

True JEHOVAH, that thou hast sent; Shew some Miracle from Heaven, for the Conversion of These Infidels; and save me from my Enemies; Or if thou dost not, **I'll set the Heavens on Fire, and with these very Hands cast Thee out of Thy Throne.**

I should have scrupled the bare *Recital* of these *Blasphemies*, were it not for the Desire I have, to Possess you with a Due Consideration of those *Exccrable Aluses*, that are frequently Imposed upon the World, under the *Visor* of Religion. The Condition of the Kingdom was doubtless very *sad*, that had such *Turbulent Spirits* to deal withal; and yet we find, that by *One Severe Law* (of the 35th of the *Queen's Reign*) Her Majesty gave her *Self*, and her *People*, *Quiet*, as to That Particular, for the whole *Remainder* of her Life.

The *Penalties* (as I remember) were
These:

These : Imprisonment without Bail or Main-prize, for being Present at Unlawful Conventicles; The Offender to be discharged, if within Three Months He made his Open Submission, and Acknowledgment, in the Form by the said Statute appointed. But in Case of Recusancy to Conform within That time, He was required to Abjure the Realm. And in Case of Refusing to Abjure; Or of not Departing within a limited Time; Or of Returning without Licence, to be proceeded against as a Felon, without Benefit of Clergy.

Disc. of
Relig. Par.
1. p. 24.

N. C. And yet you see, for all your *New-modelling of Corporations; Prohibiting of Conventicles, Removing Non-Conformists five Miles from the Place of their Usual Supports, and Influences: Nevertheless, the State Ecclesiastical hath advanced little in the Esteem, Acceptance, or Acquiescence of the People.*

C. This is very True; and if *Other Laws for the Prevention of Capital Crimes,* were no better *Executed,* then *That for Uniformity,* Your Argument would lie as fair every jot, for the *Toleration of Murder,* as it does now for *Schism.* But however, it succeeded well with *Queen Elizabeth;*

Elizabeth ; and not worse with *King James*, as appears by the Story.

His Majesty (under *Twelve Years Old*) took the Government of *Scotland* into his Hand. The Year following, the Ministers presented a Form of *Church-Policy*, to the Parliament then Sitting ; and upon the Debate, matters were agreed, as far as Possible, without Prejudice to the *King's Authority*, and the *Liberty* of the *Subject* : And These Points were either *referr'd* to further Consideration, or *pass'd over* in Silence. The *Assembly* took snuff at this Dilatory way of Proceeding, and, without more adoe, pass'd a Vote, for doing *their own Business*, without asking the *Parliament leave*. They began with the *Arch-Bishop* of *Glasgow* : and presently fell upon the whole *Order*, requiring Them to renounce their *Temporal Titles*, Their *Civil Jurisdiction* ; To decline their *Votes* in *Parliament*, and to submit themselves to a *Retrenchment* of their *Episcopal Revenues*. Their next step, was the *Demolishing* of the *Cathedral* at *Glasgow* : But when the *Quarriers* were just entring upon the Work, the *Tradesmen* of the Town, in an Uproar, threaten'd the Undertakers, and so they quitted it : But
not

Anno 1577

not without a Complaint to the Council, of the Insolence of the *Mutineers*; Which came to This Issue, his Majesty justifi'd the *Tradesmen*, and forbad the *Ministers* any further meddling in the Destroying of *Churches*. And This was all the Cheque they had for so lewd an Outrage.

In 1579, The King wrote to the *Ministers*, not to prejudge the Decisions of the *Parliament*, then approaching, by the Conclusions of their *Assembly*; and to Forbear the Practice of any *Innovations*, till their *Meeting*. Whereupon, instead of *Complying*, they proceeded to a Positive *Resolution* of *Adhering* to their *Former Conclusions*; Question'd the *Arch-Bishop* of *St. Andrews*, for giving his *Voice* in *Parliament*; and soon after, by an Act of *Assembly*, They commanded the *Bishops*, under Pain of *Excommunication*, not to Exercise the Office of *Pastors*, in any sort whatsoever, without *Licence* from the *General Assembly*; and further directing, the *Patrimony* of the *Church* to be so disposed of, as they should judge Reasonable at their next *Convention*: Thus, by Degrees, growing *Bolder* and *Bolder*, upon *Forbearance*.

The Particulars of their *Usurpations* would

would be too tedious ; I could otherwise tell you of their *Justification* of the *Treasonous Seizure* of the King at *Ruthuen* ; Their *Propositions* , and *Complaints* in 1583, with the King's *Gentle Return* ; Their *Covenants*, and *Seditious Practices*, even to the Encouraging, and Avowing of *Open Rebellion*. And still the more *Plyant*, and *Easie* his Majesty was, The more *Contumacious*, and *Untractable* were these People. In the End ; What with the *Tumult* at *Edinburgh*, in 1596 ; and the *Ministers Band* of *Confederacy*, immediately upon it ; The King was forced upon a Resolution of *Rigor*, and *Severity* ; and (as *Spotswood* observes) he received little or no *Opposition* thereafter.

At his Majesties Entry upon the Government of *England*, the Ceremonies of his first *Reception*, and *Inauguration* were scarce over, but He was assaulted with *Petitions* , and *Importunities* about the *Reformation* of the Government, and *Liturgie* of the *Church* : in the Name of Thousands of Godly , Learned , and Conscientious Men, that could not Conform : Whereupon, a *Proclamation* was Issued for a *Conference* to be held at *Hampton-Court*, in *January*, 1604. So many

many *Bishops*, and *Deans* appointed for the *Church*; and for the *Petitioners*, there appeared, *Dr. Reynolds*, *Dr. Sparkes*, *Mr. Knewstubb*, and *Mr. Chaddertons*.

The Points in Controversie, were Particularly, and Solemnly Debated; and in the End, such Satisfaction given even to the *Plaintiffs* Themselves, that they all promis'd Obedience; and *Dr. Sparkes* became, afterward, an *Advocate* for the Orders of the *Church*, and wrote a *Treatise* for *Conformity*. *Knewstubb* indeed boggled a little, and desired to know, *How far an Ordinance of the Church was Binding, without Offence to CHRISTIAN LIBERTY?* Upon which General Question, The King turn'd short, and Answer'd him; *Le Roy s' avisera: Let us have no more of Those Questions, How far you are bound to Obey, what the Church has once Ordained; But Conform at your Peril.*

While the Business was fresh, they made a faint Pretense of Appealing to another *Conference*: but upon second Thoughts, they let it totally fall, and never gave the King any further Trouble upon That Subject.

Thus far, you see, the *Government* has been preserv'd by strictness of Order, and
Uni-

Uniformity. We come now to those Fatalities of *Tenderness*, and *Relaxation* that destroy'd us.

N. C. You never consider, that the *Non-Conformists* are more *Numerous*, and *Powerful* now than formerly they were, by many *Degrees*: and that the *Dissenters Cause* has got Ground upon the *Church-Interest*, ever since. But follow your Discourse.

C. In the *First* of the late *King*; was exhibited, in *Parliament*, *A Petition*, (among other Matters) for the *Propagation of the Gospel*, and the *Restoring of Silenc'd Ministers*; to which, his Majesty, return'd a *Gracious*, and *Yielding Answer*, which produc'd a *Remonstrance of Mis-carriages in Government*; Insomuch, that his Majesty was forced to *Dissolve That Parliament*.

In the *Second Year* of his *Reign*; He call'd another *Parliament*, which pursu'd the same Method, and went a little Higher than the *Former*: So that the *King* was fain to *Dissolve That* too.

In the *Year* following; the *King* call'd Another; and upon their *Meeting*, went somewhat a quicker way to work with them: Minding them, in a short, and pertinent

pertinent Speech, of their Past Failings; advising them to steer a more Peaceable Course for the Future, and not to put him upon Extremities, to provide for the Safety of his People. This change of Stile, and *Resolution*, in his Majesty, drew Immediately from the *Commons*, a Grant of *Five Subsidies*. The King was too Generous, and Candid to take That *Present* for a *Bait*; and Relapsing into his former Temper of *Charity*, and *Softness*, was presently access'd with *The Petition of Right*; which, after some *Difficulty*, and *Demur*, His Majesty *passes*: And after *This*, followed a *Petition*, *Remonstrance*, and *Protestation*, which put an End also to *That Convention*.

King's
la 26 Dec.
P. 73.

Look now a little into the *Scotch Affairs*, and observe the Growth of the *Non-Conformists Demands*, from one thing to another; till in the End, by virtue of what the King Granted them, they possess themselves of all the Rest. *In their Tumults* (says his Majesty) *they complain'd only of the Service Book*. *In their Petition exhibited to the Counsel; they complain'd of the Service-Book, and Canons*. *In their Covenant they complain of, and Abjure the Five Articles of Perth*. (although *Establish't*, first by a General Assembly,

Assembly, and Then by Parliament) After This, they complein of the High Commission; And Then, of Prelates Sitting in Civil Judicatories.

Hereupon, *His Majesty Commissions* Marquis Hamilton, with full Power, and Large Dea-
Authority, to Conclude, and Determine all clar. p. 77.
such Things as should be found for the
Good, Quietness, and Peace of that King-
dom : Directing him also to take the
 mildest Course that might be, for the
 Calming of those Commotions. And
 what Effect had this *Peaceable Inclination*
 of His Majesty, upon the *Covenanters*,
 but to blow them up into more Seditious,
 and bolder Practises, against the King's
 Authority, and the Publique Peace?
 They pursue their Demands, and Cla-
 mour for a *Free General Assembly*, and a
Parliament. His Majesty gives them all
 their Askings: Indicts a *Free General As-* Ib. p. 137.
sembly, and a *Parliament*; Discharges
 the *Service-Book*, the *Canons*; *High-*
Commission; The urging of the *Five Ar-*
ticles of Perth: Commands the *Subscri-*
bing of the Confession of Faith, and the
Band thereto annexed; in the very Form
 which they pretended to Impose; And
 offers them an Act of *Indemnity* for what
 was past. In all which *Condescensions*,
 M the

the King's *Patience*, and *Mercy* only served to *heighten*, and *confirm* those Men in their *Undertaking*, and to expose his *Royal Dignity*, to *Contempt*. In the conclusion, the King had so far gratified their *Importunities*, that they had nothing left to *Quarrel* upon, but His Majesties refusal to *Abolish Episcopacy*, and to admit the Authority of their *Lay-Elders*.

From hence, they brake out into open *Rebellion*; and (when the King had them directly at his *Mercy*) upon the Interview of the two Armies near *Berwick*, such was his *Tenderness*, that upon their Supplication for a *Treaty*, he Trusted them again, and Concluded a *Pacification*; whereof the *Covenanters* observ'd not so much as *One Article*.

Upon his Return to *London*, His Majesty (as is elsewhere observed) passes the *Triennial Bill*; *Abolishes* the *Star-Chamber*, and *High-Commission Court*: Passes an Act for the *Continuance* of the *Parliament*. Not to insist upon the several other *Concessions*, concerning *Ship-money*, *Forests*, and *Stannary Courts*; *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, *Knighthood*, &c.

Now in *Requit*al of these *Benefits*, the Faction *Claps up*, and *Prosecutes* his Majesties *Friends*; *Prefers*, and *Enlarges* his *Enemies*;

Enemies ; Rewards the *Scots* ; Entertains their *Commissioners* ; Votes Them their *Dear Brethren*, for *Invading Us* ; Calls in all *Books*, and *Proclamations* against them. They take away the *Bishops Votes* ; Impose a *Protestation* upon the People ; Take away the Earl of *Strafford's Life* ; Charge Twelve of the *Bishops* with *Treason* ; Declare the King's *Proclamations* to be *False, Scandalous, and Illegal* ; Keep his Majesty out of his own *Towns* ; and Seize his *Arms, and Ammunition*. They present Him with *Nineteen Propositions* for the *Resignation* of his *Royal Authority*. They Vote a *General*, and Raise an *Army* against him. They Usurp the Power of the *Militia*, and give the *King Battel* ; Levy *Moneys* ; and Declare the *Queen* Guilty of *Treason*.

After all These Usurpations upon the *Civil Power*, They are put to't to bring the Cause of *Religion* once again upon the Stage : They enter into a *Covenant* ; and call in the *Scots* again ; They *Abolish* the *Common Prayer* ; secure the *Person of the King* ; Share the *Revenues* of the *Church, and Crown*. They *Sequester, Banish, and Imprison* his Majesties *Atherents* ; and in the Conclusion, *Sell, Depose, and Murder* their *Sovraign*.

This was the Fruit of that Pious, and Unfortunate Prince his *Clemency*, and *Indulgence*.

Now to bring the Instance home to the present Times : What could be more *Pious*, *Gracious*, or *Obliging*, then His Majesties *Declaration* concerning *Ecclesiastical Affairs*, in Favour of the *Non-Conformists* ? All that was possible for the King to do, in Consistence with *Conscience*, *Honour*, and the *Peace* of his *Dominions*, His Majesty has therein given them a frank Assurance of. (with their *Lives*, and *Estates*, over and above, in the Act of *Oblivion*) And are they one jot the *Quieter* for all This ? No, but the *Worse* : for no sooner was the King's Tenderness, in That Particular, made Publicque, but the Generality (even of those that had lately Entred into a Regular, and Dutiful *Compliance* with the *Orders* of the *Church*) started into a *new* *Revolt* : which proves sufficiently, the *Benefit*, and *Necessity* of a strict *Rule*, and the *hazzard* of a *Toleration* : For rather then abide the *Penalty* of the *Act*, they could *Conform*; but upon the least Glimpse of a *Dispensation*, they *Relapse* into a *Schism*.

Neither

Neither do I find, that they were less Troublesom, *before* the Act of *Uniformity*, when they Preach'd at *Random*, then they have been *since*; Nor, to say the Truth, that they have much more Cause of *Complaint*, *Now*, then they had *Then*. For what are they the worse, for a *Penalty*, that is never *Executed*?

But if you will have a True Measure of their *Moderation*, and *Good Nature*: I pray'e take notice of their Proceedings upon *His Majesties Commission*, for the *Review of the Book of Common-Prayer*. We will appoint (says His Majesty, in his Declaration concerning *Ecclesiastical Affairs*) an *Equal Number of Learned Divines* of Both Perswasions, to Review the * *same*, and to make such ALTERA- * The Li-
TIONS as shall be thought most NE- curgy.
CESSARY. So that the *Alterations* were to be agreed upon by BOTH PARTIES, and found likewise to be NECESSARY. Now instead of *Alterations*, joyntly agreed upon, They Publish a *Complete Liturgy* of their own; indeed a *New Directory*; but under the Title of *The REFORMATION of the Liturgie*. (which in all their Books, signifies *ABOLITION*) Give me the favour, next, to observe upon some of
M 3 their

their *NECESSARY* Alterations. They have turn'd *WEDDED* Wife, into *MARRIED*. *DOEST THOU Believe?* into *DO YOU Believe?* *All this I STEDFASTLY Believe*, into *All this I UNFEIGNEDLY Believe*. These are some of the *Important Scruples*, that are cast into the *Balance*, against the *Unity* of the *Church*, and the *Peace* of the *Kingdom*. What is This, but to make *Sport* with *Authority*, and *Conscience*? *Laws* must be *Suspended*; *Princes*, *Vilified* and *Importun'd*; because, forsooth, the *Godly Party* may not be *Govern'd* by *Laws* of their own making: Nay, by *Words* of their own chusing too; So that we are like to have a *Schism*, for *Syllables*, as well as for *Ceremonies*. For what is the *Difference* betwixt *WEDDED*, and *MARRIED*, but that the *One* wears the *Stamp* of the *Law-Makers*, and the *Other*, of the *Law-Menders*?

Is it not now evident, that they are the *worse* for *good usage*? And that they have ever been so? You see the *Effects* of keeping to a *Rule*, in *Queen Elizabeth*, and *King James*: And we have since felt, to our cost, the *Effects* of a *Relaxation*: which abundantly satisfies me, That
 UN I-

U N I F O R M I T Y is the true Interest of This Government, and not *T O L E R A T I O N*.

N. C. Uniformity is the Interest of This Kingdom, as it is of any other, where there is any fair Possibility of Procuring it. But the Principles of Dissent have taken such Root in this Land, that you may as well think of Depopulating the Nation, as of Uniting it, upon the Points in Question.

C. But I am otherwise perswaded; and that the Party of *Non-Conformists* is not so considerable, as you make it.

S E C T. XVIII.

The Party of Scrupulous, and Conscientious *Non-Conformists*, *is neither* NUMEROUS, *nor* DANGEROUS.

C. I Am apt to believe that Party is not so *Numerous* as you represent it, for many Reasons. First; I take *English Mens Consciences*, and their *Neighbours*, to be much of a *Make*: And I do not find the Subject of *Our Contro-*

versie, to be made Matter of Conscience, by any other sort of Christians whatsoever, out of his Majesties Dominions.

N. C. 'Tis well we have Good Authority to the Contrary. The Preface to the Directory assures us, that The Liturgy used in the Church of England, hath proved an Offence, not only to the Godly at Home; but also to the Reformed Churches Abroad. And Smeectymnus tells the Parliament, (Pag. 10.) that there is such a vast difference between It, and the Liturgies of all other Reformed Churches, as that it keeps them at a Distance from us.

C. We'l talk of That anon; and in the mean time (with your good leave) pursue what we have now before us. Another thing that perswades me the Conscientious number of Dissenters cannot be very great, is This. The Law has made an Ample Provision for their Relief: Leaving every Household, with Four more, at Liberty to Worship according to their own way. So that the Laity has no Pretense of Complaint; Especially, those that plead for the Ordination of their own Ministers, and maintein, that Seven Persons make a Full, Ministerial, and Completely Organiz'd Church.

A Man might make an Exception to your *Accompt* too, upon the score of *Old Reckonings*; for you have ever had the faculty of *Multiplication*. Your *Thousands* at *Hampton-Court*, came to a matter of *Nine and Forty*: And we remember very well, your old way of *Personating Petitions*, from *Multitudes* of the *Godly*, and *Well-affected*, in both *City*, and *Country*; when, effectually, the poor *Innocent Papers* never Travell'd farther, then from the *Close Committee*, to the *Lobby*.

N. C. If you will not Credit Report, believe your Eyes. Do you not find our *Meetings Thronged*, and many of your *Churches Empty*?

C. Somewhat, of Both, I must Confess: but yet I am likewise inform'd, that you shew divers of these *Meetings*, as *Peters* did his *Rings*, and *Bodkins*, at several Places, several times over and over, to make a *Noise*, and increase the *Reputation* of your *Party*.

To contract the Discourse. There is a loud *Clamour*, and the *Ministers* make it. And These too, that stickle in the Cause, none of the most Conscientious neither, unless they have a *Gospel* we never heard of; to *Justifie Disobedience* in *Themselves*;

selves ; the *Provoking* of it in *Others* ;
The *Disturbing* of the *Publique Peace*,
and the *Sowing* of *Dissention* betwixt
Prince, and *People* : Which is manifestly
the *Scope* of their *Writings*, and *Designs*.

N. C. That Undertaking goes some-
what too far, to pronounce upon their
Designs. Do you pretend to know their
Hearts then ?

C. Yes ; and with very good Autho-
rity, If a Man may be allow'd to judge
what Reasonable Men aim at, from *deli-*
berate Words, and *Actions*, that lead na-
turally, to such and such Certain Ends.
And this Humour (I tell ye) of *Asper-*
sing the *Government*, and *Teizing* the
Multitude, runs through all their Pa-
pers. I durst appeal to your own Soul,
Whether you your self can Imagine, that
a *Twentieth Part* of the present *Plaintiffs*
in Matter of *Conscience*, are truly acted,
and possess with that *Scrupulosity* they
pretend to. Alas ! Alas ! You talk of
Conscience : 'Tis not what every Man
Thinks, or *Says*, that is presently *Consci-*
ence. We are impos'd upon, by *Phansie*,
Artifice, or *Delusion*. Some *Deceive*
Themselves, and *Others Consen Us*. In
one Word ; Whatsoever is not of *Con-*
science, in this *Medly*, is *Faction* : And

undoubtedly, the *Conscientious Party* has but a slender share in the Mixture.

As *That Party* is not *Numerous*, so neither is it *Dangerous*: upon a Principle of *Honesty*, and *Religion*. No Man of *Conscience*, can either *desire* to *Embroyl* the Kingdom, or *expect* to be the *Better* for't. But still *have a care how ye take every thing for Gold, that Glisters*. *Conscience* was the *Subject* of the last *Quarrel*; *Religion*, the *Pretext*; *Popery* the *Bug-bear*; And the *Issue* of it was *Dreadful*. Consider with your selves; You have many of the *same Persons* to lead you on; And *They* have the very *same Matter* too, to work upon. You meant no hurt to the last King, you say; And yet you ruin'd him: You may perchance *Intend* as little *Harm* to *This*, and yet *do him as much*. And what amends is it, when the Government is laid again in *Dust*, and *Desolation*, to cry, *You were Overseen*? If you had thought it should ever have come to *This*, you would have cut off your *Hands*, or *Tongues*; and I know not what. Look Back; and Tremble at the Course you are now upon; for you are, *Questionless*, in the very *Track* of the late *Rebellion*. And one may, without Breach of *Charity*, conclude,

conclude, that *No Man that was an Active Instrument in the last War, can acquit himself of a most Prodigious Impiety, and Ingratitude, in reviving, and prosecuting the same Interest, and Method now against the SON, by which, he notoriously contributed toward the Death of the FATHER.*

S E C T. XIX.

The Non-Conformists Appeal, from the Government, and Discipline of the Church of England, to the Judgment, and Practise of the Reformed Churches BEYOND THE SEAS; Examined, and Submitted to Censure.

C. **I**T is observable, that throughout the whole Quarrel against the *Orders, and Government of the Church of England, the Non-Conformists still fly for Countenance to the Judgment of the Reformed Churches, Abroad: And so likewise in the Question of Toleration, they Insist much upon the Practise, and Tenderness of Other Churches: As if the Ecclesiastical State of This Kingdom, were as Singular,*

Singular, for Tyranny, and Corruption, as, in Truth, the Litigants Themselves are for Contumacy, and Disobedience.

In the *Answer of the Two Houses to Ex. Coll. the Scots Declaration, 1642.* This Go- p. 634.

vernment, by *Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c.* is Declared to be *Evil, justly Offensive, and Burdensom* to the Kingdom; a great Impediment to the *Reformation*, and Growth of *Religion*: and *Resolved* it is, that *it shall be taken away*: With a Regard to the Introducing of *another Government*, more apt to procure an Union, with the Church of *Scotland*, and **OTHER REFORMED CHURCHES ABROAD.**

And the *Ministers*, in the *Petition for* P. 13:

Peace, sing the same Note too: *If Men* (say they) *must be cast out of the Church, and Ministry, because they are not wiser than the Pastors of most of the REFORMED CHURCHES, &c.*

As who should say; *The Church of England* is the *only Protestant Church* in the *Christian World*, that pretends to This Way of Proceeding; and the *Protestants Abroad*, are all of the *Non-Conformists side*. Let this Matter be fairly Examined, I beseech you, and we shall quickly see where the Fault lies.

In the first Place; What is the Judgment

ment of the *Reformed Churches abroad*, touching the *English Episcopacy*?

N. C. You may read their *Judgments* in their *Practises*; *Do'tis* but looking into the *Reformation*, in *France*, *Holland*, and the *Neighbourhood*, and you may resolve your self, in that *Point*.

C. Truly I find nothing at all to your *Advantage*, which way soever I look;
Apol. Conf. p. 137. Luther himself distinguishes betwixt *Popish Tyrants*, and *True Bishops*, and professes to *Condemn* them as *Popish*, not as *Bishops*.

De Reform. advers. Eccl. p. 95. The Authors of the *Augustane Confession* profess; that they would willingly preserve the *Ecclesiastical*, and *Canonical Politie*, if the *Bishops* would cease to *Tyrannize* over their *Churches*.

Bucer declares himself wholly, for *Bishops*, and *Metropolitans*: And *Melancthon* to *Luther*; You would not *Imagine* (says he) how some People are *Nettled*, to see *Church-Polity* restor'd: as if it were the *Romish Sovereignty* again. *Ita de Regno suo, non de Evangelio, dimicant Socii nostri.* As if the *Quarrel* were *Dominion*, not *Religion*.

Calvin acknowledges, that the *Ancient Government*, by *Arch-Bishops*, and *Bishops*; and the *Nicene Constitution* of *Patriarchs*,

Patriarchs, *was for Orders sake, and Good Government.* And delivers himself to *Cardinal Sadolet*, with an *Anathema* upon the Opposers of that Hierarchy, *which submits it self to Jesus Christ.*

Zanchie (the Compiler of the *Gallican Confession*) observes a Change of Name, rather than of Office, throughout most of the *German Churches*: As *Super-Intendents*, and *General-Super Intendents*, in the place of *Bishops*, and *Arch-Bishops*: Acknowledging that *by the Consent of Histories, Counsels, and the Ancient Fathers*, Those Orders *have been Generally allowed by all Christian Societies.* *Where they are in Exercise, let them continue; and where, by the Iniquity of the Times, they have been abolish'd, they ought to be restor'd.*

Beza (the rigid Successor of *Calvin*) in excuse to the *Arch-Bishop of Canterbury*, for meddling beyond his Sphere:—*We do not charge* (says he) *all Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, with Tyranny.—The Church of England hath afforded many Learned Men, and many Glorious Martyrs of That Function. If That Authority be there still, may a perpetual Blessing go along with it.* This, in the Name of the whole Church of *Geneva*, and Addressed, To the *Primate* of

of all England. Totius Angliæ Primati. Saravia, arguing for the *Hierarchy* out of the *Apostles Canons*, Beza returns him This Answer. *This is no more, then what we wish might be restor'd to all Churches.* [Quid aliud hic statuitur, quam quod in omnibus locis, Ecclesiis restitutum cupimus?

Beza cont.
Sarav. p.
116.

View of
the Go-
vernment,
p. 5.
Ibid. p. 6.

The Three Kingdoms of *Swede*, *Denmark*, and *Norway* (as Mr. Durell observes) retain the Order still, of *Bishops*, and *Arch-Bishops*. In the *Protestant Cantons* of *Switzerland*, there is also a *Subordination* of *Ministers*. And so in the *Palatinate*; in *Hessen*; the Duke of *Brandenburgh's* Territories; *Anhalt*, *Bremen*, *Poland*, *Lithuania*, &c.

Ibid. p. 122

Come we now into *France*, *Holland*, and *Geneva*. And first hear Mr. du Bose of the *Reformed Church* of *Caen*. Well-ordered *Episcopacy* hath most *Important*, and *Considerable Utilities*, which cannot be found in the *Presbyterian Discipline*.

Ibid. p. 125

Mr. Gaches, one of the *Ministers* of *Charenton*. The best Men in our Churches (says he) have honour'd the Prelates of England.—The Name of *Schism* may do more harm to the Church in one Year; then the *Excess* of *Episcopal Authority* can do in an Age. And again: Sin hath brought in

in the Necessity of Government ; and the Failings of Ministers make the Order of Bishops Necessary.

Mr. le Moyn, of Rouen, pronounces it Ibid. 138. to be want of Prudence, and Charity, if any seek the Ruine of Bishops. [I trust Ibid. 140. that his Majesty will be sure to re-establish the Authority of the English Church, and use his Power for a perfect Re-union of all the Reformed Churches ; which that he may Effect, His Majesty must preserve his Bishops.

I hold it impossible (says Mr. Gayon of Ibid. 146. Bourdeaux) that England can ever be quiet, and flourish, but under the Episcopal Government.

In Holland, Bogermannus, (the President Ibid. 118. of the Synod at Dort) upon a Suggestion from the Bishop of Landaff, how fit a Remedy Episcopacy would be for the Suppression of Heresies, and Schism, made this Reply ; Domine, non sumus adeo fœlices] We are not so happy, My Lord. And for Geneva, we have the Voices of the Principals of that Church also, for the Authority, and Advantage of Episcopal Government. So that if you be no better Seconded against our Ceremonies, then you are against our Bishops, you have the whole Stream of Protestant Divines against

you. This is according to what I have formerly had occasion to deliver, upon *This Subject*.

Petition
for Peace,
P. 5.

N. C. We do dissent, upon just Reasons, from the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, or Prelacy, (DISCLAIMED IN COVENANT) as it was Stated, and Exercised in These Kingdoms; yet do not, nor ever did renounce the True, Ancient, Primitive Episcopacy. as it was Balanced, or Menaged by a Due Commixtion of Presbyters therewith.

C. We are not here to Debate the Qualifications, and Limits of the Episcopacy you pretend to: but to proceed, having made it appear, that the Hierarchy, which, (under Colour of Reduction, or Commixtion) you formerly rooted out, and are now again undermining; is That very Hierarchy, which you have now heard Reverenced, and Recommended by so many Venerable Testimonies. Or, if after all This, you can but produce one Publick Act of any Protestant Church, beyond the Seas, in favour of your Claim, do it; and save your Party the Credit, of not being Single, and Particular in your Schism. What have you next to say against our Ceremonies?

*N. C. All the best Reformed Churches
of*

Toleration Discuss'd. 179

of **Christ**, (who only are Competent Judges in this Case, and to whose Judgment, and Example, we ought rather to Conform our selves, in Ceremonies, then to the Synagogue of Anti-Christ) do esteem those Ceremonies, **Needless, Inexpedient, and Fit to be Abolish'd**: How the Churches of other Countries approve of them, may appear sufficiently by this, that they have banish'd the use of them out of their Assemblies.

C. Are they only **NEEDLESS, INEXPEDIENT**, and **FIT** to be *Abolish'd* then? I thought you would have found them absolutely **UNLAWFUL, IDOLATROUS**, and upon pain of **DAMNATION**, not to be **RETEIN'D**. According to This Measure, What will become of the whole Frame of our Government, if it shall take you in the head, to say the same thing of every *Law*, and *Constitution* of the Land? Ceremonies will not down with you, because they are *Needless, Inexpedient, &c.* I beseech you, shew me the *Needfulness* of *Killing*, and *Plundering*, or the *Expedience* of *Dissolving Publique Laws*, and *Depopulating Kingdoms*: And yet These are Matters you can *Swallow*, even without *Chewing*. **Needless? And**

The Old
Non-Con-
formist, p.
21.

Toleration Discuss'd.

Inexpedient? Softly, I beseech you; you are for teaching your *Governours* more *W I T*, as well as more *Religion*, and *Conscience*.

N. C. Keep to your *Text* I pray'e; for we are not now upon the *Lawfulness* of the *Engl^{ish} Ceremonies*; but upon an *Enquiry*, *What Enterteinment* they receive in the *Judgment*, and *Practise* of other *Reformed Churches*: without engaging our selves in any other *Consideration* of their *Reason*, and *Convenience*. I say, they are banish'd out of their *Assemblies*, and you are at *Liberty* (if you can) to prove the *Contrary*.

C. Let us first see how far we agree upon the Allowance of any *Ceremonies* at all, and where to place the *Right*, and *Authority* of *Imposing* them.

The Church of England thinks it convenient, that every Country should use such *Ceremonies* as they shall think best, to the setting forth of *God's Honour*, and *Glo-ry*, &c. Which is according to the sense of *Other Reformed Churches*, as appears by their several *Confessions*.

With *Us* agrees, first, the Church of *Cap. 27. Helvetia*. [*Churches have always us'd their Liberty in Rites, as being things Indifferent. which we also do at this Day.* That
of

of *Bohemia* likewise: [Humane Traditions, and Ceremonies, brought in by a Good Custom, are with an Uniform Consent to be retained in the Ecclesiastical Assemblies of Christian People, at the Common Service of God. The Gallican; [Every Place may have their Peculiar Constitutions, as it shall seem meet for them. The *Belgique*; [We receive those Laws that are fit, either to cherish or maintain Concord, or to keep us in the Obedience of God. That of *Auspurg*; [Ecclesiastical Rites, which are Ordin'd by Man's Authority, and tend to Quietness, and Good Order in the Church, are to be Observed. That of *Saxony*; [For Order sake, there must be some Decent, and Seemly Ceremonies. That of *Swethland*; Such Traditions of Men, as agree with the Scriptures, and were Ordained for Good Manners. and the Profit of Men, are worthily to be accounted rather of God than of Man.]

Cap. 15.

Art. 32.

Art. 32.

Art. 15.

Art. 20.

Cap. 14.

N. C. The Question is not, about an Agreement in Ceremonies that may be Exercised without Offence, either to God, or Man; (according to your Instances) but about their Liking, or Dislike, of Those in Practice among us: As the Surplice; Kneeling at the Communion; The Cross in Baptism, and the like.

View of
the Go-
vernment,
p. 5.

Ibid. p. 24.

Ep. Bullin-
gero, fol. 98

Baxter's
Five Di-
sputations,
disp. 5. cap.
2. sect. 40.

C. As to the *SURPLICE*; Mr. Durell tells you, that the *Churches* that *Conform* to the *Confession* of *Augsburgh*, have the very same *Ceremonies* with the *Church* of *England*: And *Surplices* in many *Places*. And further; that a *National Assembly* at *Charenton*, Anno 1631. hath declared, that there is neither *Idolatry*, nor *Superstition* in *That* *Worship*.
 25. The *Protestant Ministers* also in *Bohemia*, *Lithuania*, *Prussia*, make no *Scruple* at all of *Preaching* in *Surplices*, whensoever they are called upon to *Preach* where *Surplices* are used. Nay, *Calvin* himself, does not approve of *Hooper's* violent *Inconformity* in that *Point*. [*De Pileo, & Veste Linea, maluissim (ut illa etiam non probem) non usque adeo ipsum pugnare: Idque nuper suadebam.* And let Mr. Baxter pin the *Basket*. Some *Decent Garment* is necessary; either the *Magistrate*, or *Minister* himself, or the *Associated Pastors* must determine what. If the *Magistrate* or *Synod* tie all to one *Habit*, (Suppose it *Indeocent*) yet this is but an *Imprudent use* of *Power*, and the thing it self being *Lawful*, I would *Obey*, and use that *Garment*.

N. C. You only make mention,
where

where it has been *used*, and *permitted*; but you take no Notice where it has been *Rejected*. And then the *Personal Authorities* you cite, in favour of it, declare their *Judgments* to be still against it.

C. But only so against it, as not to Allow of a *Separation*, upon *That* *Scruple*. Now whereas you object the *Refusal*, or *Rejection* of it, elsewhere: It does not follow, that every Church *disallows*, what it does not *Practise*: And it shall content me, to find the *Practise* of so many *Churches* for us, and *None*, against us.

As to *KNEELING* at the *Communion*; the *Bohemian Churches* use that *Posture*, and so do the *Churches* of *Poland*. With whom, the *French*, and *Dutch* do so far agree, as *In hoc Ritu, sumam cuique Ecclesia Libertatem salvam relinquere*. To leave every Church at its own *Freedom*, in that *Particular*.]

Mr. Baxter in his *Five Disputations*, does also profess, that rather than disturb the *Peace of the Church*, he would *Kneel* too; How hardly soever he may think of the *Imposition*. So that in the Case of *Kneeling*, likewise, we have several of the *Reformed Churches* that joyn with us

in the *Practise* of it, and not so much as any *one* of them, that appears in our *Condemnation*.

View of
the Go-
vernment,
p. 41.

Touching the Use of the *CROSS* in *Baptism*; (beside the undeniable *Antiquity* of the Custom) you may hear from *Mr. Durell*, that *The Reformed Churches of the Confession of Augsburgh*, do for the most part, use it; and that at *Paris*, many Children of the Church of *Charenton*, have been Baptized in the Chappels of the English Embassadours there, according to the Rites of the Church of *England*. And moreover, that only the *Nonconforming English*, and *Scotch* oppose it. I could enlarge my self, upon very good Authority, to the justification of our way of Worship, throughout, in every Particular of your *Exceptions*; but I will rather chuse to encounter all your *Objections* at once; by proving, that the *Protestant Churches, Abroad*, have as great a *Reverence* for the *Authority, Rites, and Ceremonies* of the Church of *England*, in the whole Frame of the *Constitution*, as they have a *Kindness* for the several *Parts* of it, which they do severally Exercise among *Themselves*.

I must still be beholden to the Industry
of

of the Reverend *Durell*, who has much obliged us with a clear, and Methodical Manifestation of the *Agreement* of the *Church of England*, (as it is now Established by the *Act of Uniformity*) with other *Reformed Churches beyond the Seas*.

Sir John Colladon (one of his Majesties *View of* Physicians in Ordinary) *had the Honour the Gover.* to Congratulate his Majesties Restoration, *p. 63.* from the City and Church of Geneva, and from the Protestant Cantons in Switzerland. Upon his Departure, he put this Quære to the Rulers of the said Church; Whether he might Lawfully Joyn with the Church of *England*, in Publique Worship, and receive the Holy Sacrament according to the usual Rites thereof? *It was Answer'd, That he might; and that it was not to be Question'd.*

Here is also, *A whole French Reformed* *Ibid. p. 73.* Congregation, that hath Conformed to the Rites, and Ceremonies of the Church of England, to the great Satisfaction of the Divines of *Rouen, Paris, Geneva, Bour-* *Ibid. p. 96.* *deaux, &c.* And since the Establishment of This Church, divers Ministers have *Ibid. p. 92.* come over, from *Geneva, France, Germany, Poland, Lithuania, Piemont; Students, Elders, Private Persons:* And none

none of them ever yet refused, either to Assist, or to Conform.

Ibid. 64.

Mr. de Laune, Minister of the Wal-lons Church at Norwich; and Mr. Calen-drin, one of the Ministers of the Dutch Church in London, have divers times Offici-ated in English Congregations, according to the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England] Without any Scandal, either Given or Taken.

Ib. 69, 72.

* Scripta
Anglican.
P. 455.

Nay, so far are they from disowning us, that the *French Divines* hold them for *Schismaticques*, and *Punishable*, that refuse *Communion* with us. * *Bucer thanks God with all his Soul, to see the English Ceremonies so pure.*

N. C. And have they, I beseech you, their *Set Forms*? Their *Peremptory Impositions*? Their *Declarations*, and *Subscriptions*?

G. Yes, yes: All This, and more. For *Set Forms*, methinks you should rather tell me *any one Reformed Church* that wants a *Set Form*, then put me to the Trouble of *Naming* all that have. *Calvin*, and *Beza* are Positive for them. *Geneva*, much more severe for the Observance of them, then we are here; *Inconformity There*, is cause of *Banishment* for a Year: And the *Gallikan Church* makes it a mat-
ter

ter of *Excommunication*. In *Geneva*; *Calvin* Establish'd his *Discipline* by an *OATH*, both upon *People*, and *Pastors*, to observe *That Form* for ever after. The *Ministers* take an *Oath* of *Canonical Obedience*, in *Hungary*; And the *French Divines* are not admitted, without *Subscription*. There's no *Imposing* upon *Publick Laws*, with *Private Scruples*: No *Banding* allow'd, betwixt *Conscience*, and *Authority*: *He that will not submit to the Orders of a Community, Away with him.* (says *Calvin*) It is not enough to take cheque at the *Constitutions* of the *Church*, under colour of a weak *Conscience* (or so pretended) but you must be fully satisfied, that the *Constitution* is *wicked IN IT SELF*. Nay, *Calvin* carries it further. Suppose it really ministers *Matter of Offence*; (says he) *That will not serve to vacate the Obligation*, unless it be also found to be *Simply*, and *IN IT SELF* *Repugnant* to the *Word of God*. [*Quia tamen Verbo Dei PER SE non Repugnat, Concedi potest.* To provide against *Evil Consequences*, is the *Magistrates Duty*, not the *Subjects*.

N. C. The *Worship* of *God*, is in it self *Pure*, and *Perfect*, and *Decent*, without having any such *Ceremonies* af-
fixed

Hooker's
Eccles. Pol.
Preface.

Two Pa-
pers of
Proposals,
p. 7, 8.

fixed thereunto; [And many Faithful Servants of the Lord, knowing his Word to be a Perfect Rule of Faith, and Worship, have ever been exceeding fearful of Departing from his Will, and of the Danger of Displeasing him, by Additions, or Detractions, in such Duties.

C. You will hardly find any honest President for this Nicety. (Calvin would have given it a worse Name) *Testatum Velim* (says he) *me non de Ceremoniis Litigare, quæ Decoro tantum, & Ordini Serviant: vel etiam Symbola sunt, & Incitamenta ejus quam Deo deferimus Reverentia.* He Declares himself, you see, not only for Ceremonies, of Order, and Decency; but for Ceremonies of Significance, and Incitement to Reverence and Devotion. And in another place, *Ergone* (Inquires) *nihil Ceremoniarum rudioribus dabitur, ad juvandam Eorum Imperitiam? Id ego non dico; omnino enim utile illis esse sentio, hoc Genus Adminiculi.*] Will you allow of no Ceremonies then at all, (you'll say) for the Instruction of the Vulgar? You do not hear me say so; for I am clearly of opinion; that they are of very great use, and service to the People.

Upon the Main; The English Non-
Con-

Institut.
lib. 4. ca. 9.
sect. 14.

Conformists, (as *Mr. Durell* well observes) are a sort of People by themselves; and *Non-Conformists*, at *Geneva*, and *Francfort*, as well as at *Canterbury*, or *London*.

N. C. But still, methinks, whatever our *Consciences* are as to the way of *Publick Worship*, we might yet be Indulged with an Allowance of *Serving God* among our selves. Why should a *Toleration* do worse *Here*, then in *Holland*?

C. I might Answer you with another *Question*. Why should a *Commonwealth* do worse *Here*, then in *Holland*? Or Why should a *Standing Army* do worse *Here*, then in *Holland*? Beside; If you look narrowly into it, you will find the *Dissenters* from the *Settlement* There, to be rather *Strangers*, then *Natives*. *English*, *French*, *High-Dutch*, that flow'd in to them upon the General Revolt from the Church of *Rome*: *Lutherans*, and *Anabaptists*, out of *Germany*; *Calvinists* out of *France*; *Separatists*, and *Semiseparatists* out of *England*, in the Days of *Queen Mary*, and *Independents*, since; all which were entertain'd, more out of *Regard to Policy*, then *Conscience*; their *Business* being at that time to shake off the Yoke
of

of *Spain*, and *Change* the *Government* : To which End, these *several Parties* contributed effectually, by preparing the People for the Alteration Intended ; and inuring them to *New Principles*, both of *Religion*, and *State*.

And yet you are not to understand *Theirs* to be a *Perfect Toleration* neither. For you see, they would not, upon any terms, allow That Freedom to the *Arminians*, which they did to *Others* ; but Conven'd a *Synod*, and *Exterminated* the *Seet*. The reason was, they had a Jealousie of the *Arminians*, for *Barneveldt's* sake, the Head of that Party.

You are to take notice also of the great difference betwixt the *Interest*, and *Condition*, of *Our Ministers*, and *Theirs*. *Our Clergy* have a *Freehold* in their *Benefices* for *Term of Life* ; and if they be *Factionously* disposed, they may Evade the *Law*, and do a *Mischief*, without making a *Forfeiture*. Whereas *Theirs* Preach upon *Good Behaviour* ; Live upon the *States Pay* ; and upon the least Colour of *Offence*, may be turn'd off at pleasure. I need not tell you what *Havock*, *Peters*, *Bridges*, *Sympson*, *Ward*, made in *Holland* : But what they did *Abroad*, the same thing they would have done at *Home*, if they had been *Tolerated*. N.C.

N. C. What do ye think of Poland then?

C. I think, That Story speaks little to your Advantage: take it either in Respect of their frequent *Seditions*, or in Regard of their Prodigious, and Heretical *Opinions*: And yet they live under the strongest Obligation in Nature to keep them quiet; The *Tartar*, and other *Powerful Neighbours*, lying hard upon them; which makes their Case to be rather an *Agreement* against a *Common Enemy*, than among *Themselves*.

N. C. Now take all at the worst; It is but *Athanasius* against the *World*, and The *World* against *Athanasius*. *Number* and *Truth*, are not always of a *Side*.

C. And yet Your *Multitudes* make up a great part of your *Argument*. This however let me speak for you; There has no *Industry* been wanting to Propagate your *Profession*.

In the Year 1619. The *Scotch Discipline* was presented to the *Synod* at *Dort*, for their *Approbation*: But they would not meddle with it.

Spotswoods Hist. Scott. p. 540.

Anno 1654. Upon the Reprinting (at *Geneva*) of A *Collection* of the *several Confessions of Faith*, received in all the *Reformed*

Mr. Durells
View of
the Go-
vernment,
p. 173.

Reformed Churches of Europe; under the Title of, *Corpus, & Syntagma Confessionum Fidei, &c.* It was moved that the *Thirty Nine Articles* of the Church of England, might be left out, and the *Assembly Mens Confession*, put in the place: But the Motion was totally rejected; The *Thirty nine Articles Inserted*, and not a Word of the *Directory*.

The late
Kingslarge
Declarat.
p. 75.

They had no better luck with their *Covenant* neither, then with their *Discipline*. [*The Ministers, and others of the Consistory at Charenton, and of other Reformed Churches in France; as also the Professours, Ministers, and Consistory of Geneva, and of other Neighbouring Reformed Churches in those Parts, were so scandalized with this Prodigious Covenant, as that they were afraid of nothing more, then this, that it would bring an indeleble Scandal upon the Reformed Churches, and alienate the Minds of all the Princes of Christendom, from ever entertaining a good Thought of their Religion.*]

The *Venerable Assembly of English Divines, and Scotch Commissioners* (as they stiled Themselves) sent the Copy of their *Covenant*, and a *Solemn Invitation* to *Seventeen Reformed Churches* beyond the Seas to Joyn with them. Their Letter should

should have been *Latin*; But so it was, that they left it a *Measuring Cast*, whether they were the better *Christians*, *Casuists*, *Subjects*, or *Grammarians*. Their skill was most employ'd, in Exhorting the *French Protestants* to follow *Their Example*, and cast off the Yoke of *Antichrist*; (that is to say, of *Obedience*) And in Calumniating their *Sovereign*, as a *Confederate* with the *Popish Interest*, to destroy the *Protestancy*. Which *Design*, was only to be *obviated*, by a *Holy League*. This was the Drift of the *Address*; But we never heard Syllable of the *Answer*.

There needs no more be' said to prove the Judgment of the *Reformed Churches* *strong*, and *unanimous* against you; and you had best make a Trial, if you can supply by *Reason*, and *Argument*, what you want in *Countenance*, and *Authority*.

S E C T. XX.

*The Non-Conformists Exceptions to Our
Publick Way of Worship, found
Guilty of Great IMPIETY, and
ERROUR.*

C. **W**Hat are your *Exceptions* to
Our Way of Worship? Are
they *General*; or *Particular*? Is it the
Imposition it self, or the *Thing Impos'd*,
that displeases you?

N. C. *Why truly Both. The One*
takes away my Christian Liberty; and
the Other, the Liberty of my Conscience.
The greatest part of my Trouble, is
the Act of Uniformity.

C. Is it the *Model*, or the *Uniformity*
you stick at?

N. C. *Both alike; for neither is the*
Particular Act fram'd to my Satisfaction;
nor is it possible that any One Form of
Worship should suit All Judgments.

C. Will *Toleration* suite *All Judg-*
ments, any better then *Uniformity*? But,
I perceive, you do not account the *San-*
ction of any *One Form whatsoever* to be
Lawful.

N. C.

Toleration Discuss'd. 195

N. C. Indeed I do not think it *Lawful* for a *Magistrate* to enjoin any thing upon a *Penalty*, which a *Private Person* may not *Conscienciously* Obey him in ; For do I think it *Warrantable*, for a *Man* to Obey any *Humane Command*, against the *Dictate* of his *Conscience*.

C. Put This together now. First, *It is not Possible that any One Form of Worship should suit All Judgments* : And then, *It is not Lawful to enjoin any thing upon a Penalty, which does Not suit All Judgments*. What is This, but a meer *Trifling of Government* ; to suppose a *Law*, without an *Obligation* ?

Again ; If the *Magistrate* cannot *Impose*, neither can he *Tolerate* ; unless you'l suppose him a more *Competent Judge* of *Your Conscience*, then of his *Own* : for you *allow* him to *Understand* what he may *Tolerate*, and *deny* him the *Knowledge* of what he may *Impose*. So that either he has no *Power*, or no *Reason* to favour you : No *Power*, as you state his *Capacity* ; And no *Reason*, as you disclaim his *Authority*. But you were saying, that the *Imposition* takes away your *Christian Liberty*. As how, I beseech ye ?

N. C. In making Those things *Necessary*, which *Christ* left *Free*. For
O 2 wherein

wherein does *Christian Liberty* more concern it self, then in the *Free use of Indifferent*, or the *Forbearance of Doubtful things*, which we are bound entirely to preserve; And whereof, by your *Ecclesiastical Injunctions*, we stand *Depriv'd*?

C. If the *King* be *Ty'd up*, in Matters that are either *Commanded*, or *Forbidden*; and the *People* left at *Liberty*, in things *Indifferent*: I would fain know what *Authority* has to work upon. But this Point will fall in of it self by and by: Though enough be said already, to prove your *Position* utterly *destructive of Order*, and *Society*. For there is but *Good*, *Bad*, and *Indifferent*, in Nature: What we are *B O U N D* to do; What we are Bound *N O T* to do; and What we may either *D O*, or *L E T A L O N E*. (That is to say, without the Interposal of some *Incidental Obligation* to *determine* that *Indifference*)

The Asserters of this Doctrine, fetch their Warrant for it, out of *St. Paul* to the *Galatians* 5. 1. *Stand fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made us Free*. Upon *This Text* they ground their *Exemption*. But *here* they prudently *stop* too; for the *Context* would have spoil'd all: And they might as well have *Argu'd* against

against the *Efficacy* of *Christ's Death*, from the *latter* part of the *second Verse*, as for *Christian Immunity*, (in the *Latitude* they understand it) from the *former* part of the *first*. The *Apostle* goes on in These Words; *And be not entangled AGAIN with the Yoke of Bondage.* 2 *Behold; I Paul say unto you, that if ye be CIRCUMCISED*, *Christ* shall profit you nothing. 3 *For I testifie again to every Man that is CIRCUMCISED, that he is a Debtor to do the whole Law.*

The Case, briefly, was This. By the Coming of our Blessed Saviour, the *Jewish Ceremonies* were *abolish'd*: Some that had a mind to Continue them, and keep the People still under the Yoke of the *Law*, stood for the Doctrine of the *Circumcision*. (which was here the very Matter in Question) The *Apostle* cautions the *Galatians* against it; and *not to be entangled AGAIN with the Bondage of the Law*. Which amounts only to a *Discharge* from the *Bondage* of *That Law* to which they were *before* Subjected; without extending *That Liberty*, to the Prejudging of *Authoritative Laws*, and *Impositions* for the time to come. As if the *Apostle* had Preached *one thing* to the

Galatians, and the contrary to the *Romans*, Obedience, at pleasure, in one place; and Obedience under pain of Damnation, in another.

In the *Second*, and *Third Verses*, *St. Paul* (you see) clears, and presses it further. As if he had said; *Be Circumcised* at your Peril. For *That single Point* of the *Law*, makes you answerable for the Performance of every Title of it. *We*

Calv. Inst. are not (says *Calvin*) (*Perperam ad Politicum Ordinem*) perversly to apply the *Doctrine of Spiritual Liberty*, to Political Order, as if Christians were to be ever the less Subject to External Government by Humane Laws, because their Consciences are set at Liberty before God. Nay, says

Ibid. lib 4. ca. 10. sect. 27. he, in another place; *Si Ecclesie Incolumitati benè prospectum volumus*] The Church can never be safe, without *St. Paul's* Decency and Order. But in regard of the diversity of Customs; and the variety of Mens Minds, and Opinions; It is not possible to secure any Polity, without the Authority of certain Laws; or to preserve any Order, without some stated Form. Now so far am I from condemning any Laws conducing to this End, [*Ut his ablati, dissolvi suis Nervis Ecclesias, Totasque Deformari, & Dissipari contendamus*]

mus] that I look upon the Removal of them, as the Dissolution of the very Sins of the Church, and expect nothing after it, but *DEFORMATION*, and *DISSIPATION*. Nor is it to be Imagin'd, that *All things shou'd be done Decently, and in Order*, (after the Apostles Precept) *but by the mediation of certain Rules, and Observations, which may serve as so many Bonds for the Regulation of that Decency, and Order.* Always provided, *That Those Ceremonies be not Imposed as Necessary to Salvation, or Essential to God's Worship.*

From your Plea for *Christian Liberty*, (which is a *Proposition*, in it self, destructive of all *Communities*) let us now move to your *next Exception*, in the Matter of *Scruple*: wick I am afraid will be found no less *Intolerable in Religion*, then the other was in *Government*; and *Dangerous enough in Both*.

It would take a Man an *Age* to run through all the *Quirks*, and *Niceties* of the *Question*; and to trace every *Particular*, in dispute, from the *Original* of its *Practice*, or *Institution*. And beside; It were but *Actum Agere*; for the *Lawfulness*, and the *Antiquity* of *Bishops*, *Liturgies*, and *Ceremonies*, with all the *Minutes*,

and *Circumstances* of the Case, has been abundantly, and *irrefragably* clear'd already, by many *Reverend*, and *Learned* Hands. I must not say, *Unanswerably*, because the *Opponents* would still have the *Last Word*; And they have *Replied* indeed, with much *Confidence*, and *Verbosity*; which has had the luck to pass with the *Common People*, for *Authority*, and *Reason*. The *Scripture*, and the *Fathers* (in the *Interim*) complein of very hard dealing from them, and make open *Protestation*, that they never so much as *dreamt* of what our *Novellists* deliver to the World in *Their Names*. But however, (*right or wrong*) Their *Margents* are still Embroder'd, with *Texts*, and *Testimonies*, in evidence of their great *Piety*, and *Abilities*: All which their Disciples *Swallow*, and *Swear* to, without understanding one Syllable of the *Matter* in *Contest*. For alas! They are a sort of People, that hold very little Intelligence, with *Antiquity*, or *Learning*. Their Business lies in their *Shops*, and at their *Trades*, or *Labours*. What have *They* to do with *Counsels*; and *Fathers*? What Accompt can they pretend to give, of the *Practises* of the *Primitive Times*, and the Stream of *Ecclesiastical Story*? And upon *This Hinge* moves

moves the Frame of the *whole Dispute*; wherein they do manifestly *pass Sentence* without *Knowledge*, and govern themselves totally by an *Implicit Faith*. So that, being thus *prepossess'd*; It is but *Scribbling on*, and keeping out of their *Reach*, to *perpetuate* the *Quarrel*. This I say; Unless the *Subject* of it, might in such manner be *brought down*, and *accommodate* to the Capacity of the *Vulgar*, as to make way for an *Appeal* from the *Snares* of *Artifice*, and *Imposture*, to the *Rules*, and *Measures* of *Common Reason*.

The Church of *England* is now labouring under the *Scandal*, and *Distraktion* of a violent *Schism*; by reason (as we are told) of many *Doubting*, and *Scrupulous Consciences*, that cannot *Conform* to her *Rites*, and *Orders*: and *Heavy Complaints* are advanced against the *Government*, on the behalf of the *Dissenters*.

In the *first* place, let us enform our selves, *Who are the Promoters* of *this Complaint*? Secondly, *What Warrant have they for so doing*? Thirdly, *Do they Well*, or *Ill in't*?

N. C. Your *first Question* is soon resolved: The *Complainants* are the *Dissenters*.
C. We

C. We are never the nearer for That Answer : for neither does it appear to us, that all the *Dissenters* are *Complainants* ; nor that all the *Complainants* are *Really*, and in *Truth*, *Dissenters* : Nay we are able to produce the *Hands*, and *Declarations* of many of your prime *Champions*, in Evidence to the *Contrary*. But to keep on our Course ; The only *Complainants* we can take notice of, are the *Silenc'd Ministers*, in their *Private Books*, and *Sermons*.

Petition
for Peace,
P. 5.

N. C. Should not the Love of Christ command us to be tender of Those that are so tender of his Honour ; and to take heed what we do to Men, for taking heed of Sin, and being afraid to offend the Lord ? And should not the Special Love of Christians, and the Common Love of Men, command us to be loth to drive them by Penalties, upon that which they Judge, doth tend to their Everlasting Damnation ; And which indeed doth tend to it, Because they Judge it so to do ? Suppose they be Mistaken, in thinking the things to be so displeasing to God, Yet it is commendable in them, to be fearful of displeasing him.

Ibid.

C. And do not you find now, that in the same Breath, you Raise, and Encourage

courage the *Scruples* you complain of; and plead (effectually) but for *Doubts* of your own *Making*. This is a Method for *Counterfeit Cripples*, not for *Faithful Ministers*; To *make Sores*, on purpose, to *Beg Plaisters*. But it is to be hop'd, that This is not done without good *Warrant*, and *Authority*: and I should be exceeding glad to see a Copy of their *Commission* for what they do.

N.C. It is a Duty of their *Pastoral Office*, to have a care of their *Sheep*.

C. But They have no *Sheep* at all, unless they steal them out of other Mens *Flocks*. I think we may take for granted, that they have no *LEGAL Warrant*: for the *Non-Conformists*, and the *Act for Uniformity*, are profest *Enemies*: And their *Proceedings* are, point-blank, in defiance of it.

From the *PEOPLE*, they can have none neither; For *They* are concluded already, by their own *Act*, (in their *Representatives*) against the very thing they pretend to. Or if *That Bar* were away; yes, and a greater difficulty too, that follows it; which is, The *Moral Impossibility* of bringing all the *People* together, that are to be *Parties* to the *Commission*:

son : I am perswaded, it would pose the best *Conveyancers* in this Kingdom, to draw up a *Deed of Trust*, to *That Purpose*, without a *Flaw* in't. That is to say : A *Commission* from the *Diffusive Body* of the *People*, must be Directed to such and such *Ministers*, as *Commissioners* for *Tender Consciences*.

From *HEAVEN* it never came neither, I do verily believe. For most certainly *Christ*, and his *Apostles*, never Issued out any *Commission*, for the *Distracting* of *Consciences*, and *Societies*. We read indeed of *CONFIRMING* the *Weak*, but not a *Syllable*, of *STAGGERING* them. And for the Extraordinary Ways, of *Vision*, and *Revelation*, they are not so much as mention'd.

N. C. If you would have given me leave, I should have told you, e'en now, that they are Warranted by a Sense, and Impression of Conscience, in the Discharge of their *Pastoral Duty*: Which obliges them, [To watch over their Flock; To preserve them from Errors, Heresies, Divisions; To Defend the Truth, Confute Gainsayers, and Seducers, Instruct the Ignorant, Excite the Negligent, Encourage the Despondent,

dent, *Comfort the Afflicted, Confirm the Weak, Rebuke, and Admonish the Disorderly, and Scandalous.*

C. Here's *much* against you, and not *one Word* in your *Favour*. Instead of *PRESERVING* their Flocks FROM *Heresies, and Divisions*, your Pastors demand a down-right *TOLERATION* of them. And instead of *Encouraging the Despondent, Comforting the Afflicted, and Confirming the Weak*; They tell the *Distressed*, (for their *Comfort*) that if *they do any thing with Doubting, they shall be Damn'd*; and never go further, to *deliver* them from those *Doubts*; but there they very fairly leave them, *Surrounded with inextricable Scruples*; and their very *Souls, Broken, and Confounded with Agony, and Horror*. Whether they do *Well, or Ill*, now be *You your self* the Judge.

My Opinion is, that they have as little to say for the *Conscience* of their Proceedings, as any way else. *First*, Their very *Preaching, and Writing*, (by reason of their *Legal Incapacity*) is a *Transgression of the Law*. *Secondly*, In the *Matter it self*, they are to blame; for it is of very evil Consequence, both upon the
Publique,

Publique, and upon *Particulars*. To say nothing of their Undertaking for *other Mens Consciences*, which is a *Privilege* belonging only to *God himself*.

That they do Ill, in *disobeying the Law*, and in *troubling the Government*, I suppose you will not deny; And yet am I perswaded, that the very *Foundation* of their *Plea* for *Separation*, and *Dissent*, is the greatest part of the *Mischief*. We have *Laws Ecclesiastical*, for the *Ordering* of the *Church*, and you refuse to *Obe*y them. For what *Reason*, I beseech you?

N. C. The best *Guide* in the *Case* of *Impositions*, and *Obedience*, I take to be the *Word of God*; and our *Doubtings* sure are very *Reasonable*, concerning *God's Worship*, where the *Scripture* gives no *Direction*. Shew us where they are *Commanded* in the *Gospel*, and we are ready to *Obe*y them.

C. The *Scripture* is the *Rule* of our *Faith*, not of our *Outward Actions*, and *Practise*. [*Whatsoever*, to make up the *Doctrine of Man's SALVATION*, is added, as in supply of the *Scriptures Insufficiency*, we reject it. But does it therefore follow, that *ALL things Lawful* to be done, are comprehended in the *Scripture*? Admit This, and *God* in delivering

Hooker's
Eccl. Pol.
li. 2. sc. 8.

Ibid.

delivering Scripture to his Church, should clear have abrogated amongst them, the Law of Nature, which is, An Infallible Knowledge Imprinted in the Minds of all the Children of Men, directing us in the Choice of Good and Evil, in the Daily Affairs of this Life. Admit This; and what shall the Scripture be, but a Snare, and a Torment to Weak Consciences, filling them with Infinite Perplexities, Scrupulosities, Doubts Insoluble, and Extreme Despairs? Not that the Scripture it self doth cause any such thing, but the Necessities of this Life, urging Men to do that which the Light of Nature, Common Discretion, and Judgment of it self directeth Men unto: On the other side, This Doctrine teaching them that so to do, were to sin against their Souls; and that they put forth their Hands to Iniquity, whatsoever they go about, and have not first the Sacred Scripture of God for their Direction. How can it chuse but bring the Simple a Thousand Times to their Wits End? How can it chuse but vex and amaze them; to be obliged in every Action of Common Life, to find out some Sentence of Scripture, Clearly, and Infallibly setting forth, what we ought to do? Admit This, and it shall not be with Masters, as it was
with

Ibid:

with him in the Gospel; but Servants being commanded to go, shall stand still, till they have their Errand Warranted unto them by Scriptures. Thus far the Learned Hooker: in Agreement with Mr. Calvin, (the Oracle of the other Party) in his Chapter of *Christian Liberty*, who writes to this Effect.

Calv. Inst. ca. 9. sect. 7 Let every Man have a care not to make things Indifferent, Matters of Religion; for nothing can be more necessary then the right understanding of That Liberty; without which, we shall never have any Peace of Conscience, and there will be no End of Superstition. [*Quasi aberit, nulla Conscientiis nostris futura est Quies; Nullus Superstitionum finis*] He that Scruples the Lawfulness of Eating, or Drinking Delicacies, will by degrees, let his Scruple fall to Meats and Drinks less Delicate, and so from one thing, to another, Lower, and Lower; (and all this while, in a perpetual Anxiety of Conscience) till he comes at last to satisfy himself, that what he takes, both for Quantity, and Quality, is but just sufficient to entertain the absolute Necessities of Nature. He must have a Text for every thing he does; and not step over a Straw, without consulting Scripture first: and

and every *Common Action* is made a *Case of Conscience*. From this miserable *Plexity of Mind*, what can be expected, but *Despair*, and *Confusion*? *Hanging*, *Drowning*, *Cutting of Throats*, and all the wretched *Extremities of Violence*, which those poor *Creatures* exercise upon themselves, as their *last Retreat*, to avoid the *Fury of a Tormenting Conscience*.

This is the *Fruit* of the *Doctrine of CHRISTIAN LIBERTY*; a *Dangerous*, and an *Impious Position*; and can have no other *Aim*, (In Truth, scarce any other *Issue*) than the *Vacating of Humane Laws*; and the *Extermination* of all *Principles of Duty*, and *Subjection* out of the *Hearts of the People*. But to be as short as may be, you see the *Effects* of your *Scruples*; pray'e speak a little to the *Grounds* of them. What *Exceptions* have you to our *COMMON PRAYER*? And see if you do not from one end to the other, fall foul upon your *Arguments*.

N. C. It is devised by Men.

Tryal of
the Engl.
Liturgy,
p. 4.

C. So are your *Ministers Prayers*; and all *Prayers* whatsoever, *Scripture-Forms* Excepted.

N. C. It is Imposed upon the *Minister, and People*, of *Necessity*. Ibid. p. 5.

C. The *Imposition* of the *Directory* was

P

yer

yet more *General, Strict, and Peremptory*. There was no *Dispensation* for a *Family*, and *Four more*, which, as it might be improv'd, takes in well nigh the whole Kingdom.

N. C. But your *Common Prayer* is *stinted*, both in *Matter*, and *Words*, to be used without *Variation*: and so was not the *Directory*.

C. Why may not the *Church* impose a *Stinted Form* upon the *Minister*, as well as the *Minister*, (if he so pleases) upon the *People*? For if the *Minister* be left at *Liberty* either to keep to one *Form*, or to vary, at his own *Election*, The *Congregation* is at his *Mercy*, whether they shall have a *Stinted Form*, or *No*. *Smectymnus* is so gracious as to allow of a *Stinted Form*, *Himself*; in Case the *Minister* shall be found insufficient to discharge the *Duty of Prayer* in a *Conceived way*: But then it is to be *Imposed on him as a Punishment*: To use *Set Forms*, and no other. So that it is not the *Unlawfulness* it seems, of a *Set Form*, nor the *Imposition*, but the *Inexpediency* you stumble at: And the *World* is at a fine pass sure, when the *Parliament of England* shall not presume to make *Laws*, without asking the *Silenc'd Ministers Opinions* first; about the

Expe -

Expedience of them. The *Directory*, as to the *Matter* of it, is as well a *Stinting* of the *Spirit*, as the *Common Prayer*. For in the *Substance*, and *Scope* of the Prayer, the Minister is *limited*; only for the *WORDING* of it, he is at his own *Freedom*: And if he may but Turn *ALMIGHTY* and most *MERCIFUL* Father, into *OMNIPOTENT* and most *GRACIOUS* Lord God, the Peace is concluded. Otherwise we are to look for nothing but *Fire and Sword*: *Lives, Laws*; and *Liberties*, must be hazarded in the *Quarrel*.

N. C. Do you make no difference between *Imposing Set Forms*, upon a few *Insufficient Ministers*, and upon a *Multitude of Others*, in *Common*, that have the *Gift of Prayer*?

C. No, none at all, as to the *Exemption* of Any Man from the *General Rule*. Beside; What Security can any Man give, that he shall continue in the Right Exercise of his *Reason*? Put case your *Gifted Minister* should be taken with some *Distemper* that seizes the *Brain*, and *Disorders*, (or but *Clouds*) his *Understanding*: Nay, let it be only some *faints, drowsie Indisposition* of *Body*, or *heaviness* of *Mind*; What becomes of the *Assembly*, under so

Languid, Spiritless, (and perchance *Extravagant*) a *Dispensation*?

Further : The *Right*, and the *Reason* too, of *Imposing* upon *One Minister*, extends to *All*.

Again : If a *Set Form* may be admitted, where the *Minister* is not good at *Extempore* ; What becomes of your Argument, I beseech ye, for the *Consciences* of the CONGREGATION ? Unless you understand the *Weakness* of the *Minister* to be a *Dispensation* for the *Scruples* of the *People* ; In which case, it may be lawful for the King and Parliament to Impose a *Service-Book*.

And yet again : Over and above the *Vanity*, and the *Arrogance* of the *Undertaking* ; do me but the favour to consider, what an *Irreverence*, what a *Prophanation* of Gods Holy *Worship*, and *Ordinances*, must needs ensue upon it. The *Desk* is turn'd into an *Oratory*, as well for the *TRYAL* of *Gifts*, and *Faculties*, as for the *EXERCISE* of them : and half the Business the *Congregation* has at *Church*, is to hear Men *Talk* to God *Almighty*, upon their *Probation* : which is done too, (God knows it, even at the best) not without great *Imperfections*, and *Failings* ; witness their [*Affectations*,
Empty,

Toleration Discuss'd. 213

Emptiness, Impertinency, Rudeness, Confusion, Flatness, Levity, Obscurity, vain, and Ridiculous Repetitions, their Sense, and oft-times Blasphemous Expressions:]

Εικὼν
Βασιλική,
p. 127.

which are but *Helps* at a *Plunge*, either to gain time for the recovery of their lost Matter, or to *stop Gaps*, and *fill up Broken Sentences*. Now where's the *Life*, and *Power* (as you call it) of *Devotion*, all this while; when the *Whole Man* is taken up, (and all little enough too) about *Words*, and *Periods*; And the Ministers chief Care diverted from the *Saving of Souls*, to the *Saving of his own Credit*? Hence proceeds That *Agreement of Tone*, and *Emphasis*, in all their *Exclamations*, *Acted Passions*, and *Vain Repetitions*, with now and then a *Groan* drawn out to a most *Doleful Length* for a *Parenthesis*. For they are all sick of the *same Disease*, and these *Interjections* give them a little *Breath*, and *Respite*, for *Recollection*. Now in This loss of *Sense*, and *Order*, How is it possible for the *Affections* of the *Congregation*, to keep company with the *Minister* in all his *Wandrings*, *Doubtings*, and *Circumlocutions*? The one half of their *Intention* is spent in *Divining* (before-hand) what he *drives at*; and the other, in *unriddling* his *Meaning*,

when he has *Deliver'd* it. Whereas in *Set-Forms*, both *Minister* and *People* are *freed* from These *Distractions*, and totally *intent* upon the *Duty* of the *Worship*: and there is a greater *Harmony*, and *Union* of *Affections*, when they *Pray All* at the same *Time*, in the same *Words*, and for the same *Thing*. I might insist upon the Inconvenience of leaving *Ministers* at *Liberty*, for fear of disturbing the *Publique*: and tell you over and over, that in our *Stinted Forms* we do but joyn in the *Common Privilege* of *Other Churches*: But more then enough is spoken Already. Let me hear now what you have to say against our *Ceremonies*.

Proposals
to His
Majesty,
p. 22.

N. C. Whereas *Kneeling* is *Imposed*, in the *Act* of *Receiving* the *Lord's Supper*, We desire that none may be *Troubled* for *Receiving* it *Standing*, or *Sitting*.

C. You have quitted your *Hold*, I perceive, of *Scriptural Direction*, and *President*. For neither *Standing*, nor *Sitting* was the *Tricliniary Posture*. But why not *Kneeling*, as well as either *Sitting*, or *Standing*?

Ibid. p. 23.

N. C. Because it is a *Probelty*; contrary to the *Decrees*, and *Practise* of the *Church*, for many *Hundred Years* after the

the Apostles. And it has been forbidden by General Councils. And it is not Good also to shew a needless Countenance of Adoring the Bread of God.

C. Can you shew me that *Kneeling at the Lord's Supper* has been forbidden, where *Kneeling at other parts of Publique Worship* has been *Allow'd*? Now you yourselves *allow of*, and *Practise Kneeling* in other Cases, which is every jot as contrary to the *Ancient Custom*, as *Our Kneeling at the Sacrament*. But We must not *Kneel*, you say, for fear of *Countenancing the Adoration of the Breaden God*.

To which I Answer, that *First*, The *Doctrine* of our Church speaks directly to the *Contrary*. *Secondly*, The *Rubrick* directs *Kneeling at the Confession*; and the People *continue Kneeling*, at the *Receiving*.

N. C. But with your Favour, the *Rubrick does afresh enjoin Kneeling*: and order the *Communion to be delivered into the Peoples Hands KNEELING*.

C. Right. And now take your Choice, whether we shall rather run the hazzard of being suspected to adore the *Bread*, because we receive it after the *English Gesture of Worshipping*, which is *Kneeling*; or incur the same Censure, by *Changing Posture*, and taking it after the *Ancient*

way of *Worshipping*, which is *Standing*?

If you can make appear, that where the *Custom* was to *Worship Standing*, they *Received, Kneeling*; you say something toward the perswading of us that *Worship Kneeling*, to *Receive Standing*.

Your *Exceptions throughout*, are much of a *Quality*; *Negatively Imposing* upon *Authority*, because you will not be *Positively bound up your selves*. For, You shall NOT do This, or That, is an *Imposition*, as well as You S H A L L. Another Humour you have gotten, of *Scrupling at Ceremonies*, because they are made as *Necessary to Salvation*, as the *Word* it self, and the *Sacraments*. (This is the Suggestion of the *Petition for Peace*, Pa. 8.) Whereas it has been, and still it is the *Constant Care* of the *Imposers themselves*, by an expresse *Solemnity of Explanation*, to satisfy the whole World to the *Contrary*.

Give us leave only for one Word more, and that out of *Calvin's Institutions*, concerning *Scandal*; (Lib. 3. Cap. 19.) which you make one part of your Complaint. There is (says he) a *Scandal GIVEN*, and *TAKEN*. The One is the *Scandal* of the *Weak*; the Other, of the *Pharisees*; who out of a perverse *Malignity* of

of *Spirit*, turn every thing to the worse. There is no *Yielding* to this sort of Men; No *Enduring*, no *Hearing* of them: [*Quicum in mille Impietatis Formas Duces se præbent, sic sibi agendum fingunt, ne proximo sint Offendiculo.* Who, under colour of *Tenderness* in the Matter of *Scandal*, make no *Conscience* at all of a thousand *Gross Impieties*. This is *His Judgment*, and *Our Case*: And there is no *Remedy*, but by concluding upon a *Final*, and *Unaccountable Judge*.

S E C T. XXI.

Whatsoever God hath left **INDIFFERENT**, *is the Subject of* **HUMANE POWER**.

C. **A**S Reasonable Nature consists of *Soul*, and *Body*; so is the *Authority* that *Governs* it, *Divine*, and *Humane*: God, *Eminently* over *All*, and *Princes Ministerially*, under Him, and as his *Substitutes*. The *Dominion* of our *Souls*, God reserves *Peculiarly* to *Himself*, committing That of our *Bodies* to the *Care* of the *Magistrate*.

Now

Now if *Power* be a *Divine Ordinance*, so consequently is *Subjection*; for to Imagine the *One*, without the *Other*, were to destroy the *Reason* of *Relatives*. A Strict, and Accurate Disquisition of This Matter, would save us much Trouble that arises about the *Bounds*, and *Limits* of our *Duty*; How far *Religion* binds us, and how far *Allegiance*. That they are *severable*, we are not to doubt, since *Truth* it self has said it. *Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; and unto God, the things that are God's*. But that they are only *so* severable, as never to become *Inconsistent*, is founded upon the same *Immovable Rock*; *Let every Soul be subject, &c.* A Precept, of a *Perpetual*, and *Universal Operation*, and Limited neither to *Time*, *Place*, nor *Persons*.

N. C. Your Deduction of *Government*, and *Subjection*, from *Divine Institution*, is well enough; and that we are to Obey the *Magistrate* for *God's* sake, and in *Subordination* to *God*, is easily Prov'd, and Granted: But I hear nothing yet of the *Particular Bounds*, and *Terms* of *Humane Jurisdiction*; What 'tis belongs to *God*, and what to *Cæsar*.

C. And That, I confess, is the Pinch of the Question: For *One Duty* comes up
 10

so close to the *Other*, that 'tis not for every Common Eye to pass between them. Effectually, they *Touch* ; but in what Point, is of a *Nice Decision*. The nearest way to the Knowledge of our *Duty*, is to apply it to the *Laws*, and *Powers* of the *Authority*: for a Man must first *Know* the Rule, before he can *Observe* it. We are then to consider, that the Almighty Wisdom has invested *Kings* with an *Unlimited Power* of *Commanding*, or *Forbidding*, in all Matters, which *God Himself* has not either *Commaned*, or *Forbidden* : Which Proposition resolves it self into This Conclusion. *Whatsoever God has left Indifferent, is the Subject of Humane Power.*

N. C. Does not that Opinion destroy *Christian Liberty* ?

C. No: But the Denial of it destroys *Magistracy*. If *Kings* have not *This Power*, they have *None at all*: And it Implies a Contradiction, to suppose any Authority in Nature without it.

N. C. But may not a *Prince* tie himself up, in a thing otherwise *Indifferent* ?

C. I speak of *Power* according to the *Institution*, not of Power limited by *Prætion*.

N. C. May

Toleration Discus'd.

N. C. May not the same thing be Indifferent to *One*, and not to *Another*?

C. Very Good: And will not every thing Imaginable appear *Non-Indifferent* to some or other; if nothing may be *Commanded*, but what upon such a Phanſie may be *Disobey'd*?

N. C. Pardon me: I do not speak of *Matters of Civil Concern*, but of *Matters of Religion*.

C. That's all a Case; for you cannot Instance in any *One Civil Action*, that may not be made Relative to *Religion*. But we are now upon *the Extent of Humane Power*. That there is such a *Power*, and *That*, *Authoriz'd* too by *God Himself*, you have already Granted. Let me but understand now, *Upon what Subject* shall that *Power* be Exercis'd; If you exclude Things *Indifferent*? *One Man* may have a *Real Scruple*, and *All the Rest*, pretend one. Who shall distinguish? So that the Rule holding from *One* to *All*, the Sacred Authority of the *Prince* becomes dependent upon the Pleasure of the *Subject*; and the *Validity* of a *Divine*, and *Unchangeable Ordinance*, is subjected to the *mutable Judgment*, and *Construction* of the *People*.

N. C. And you expect, the *Magistrate* should

Should as well have the Authority of Judging what's Indifferent, as of Restraining it.

C. You may be sure I do ; for I am but where I was, If I make *You* the Judge. Is it not *all one*, as to the *Magistrate*, whether you Refuse, upon Pretense that the Thing is *not Indifferent*, or upon Pretense, that He cannot *Restrain* a thing Indifferent? The *Crime* indeed is differing in the *Subject* : for the *One way*, 'tis an *USURPATION* of *Authority* ; and the *Other way*, 'tis a *DENIAL* of it.

N. C. Why then it seems, I am to believe every thing *Indifferent*, which the *Magistrate* tells me is so, be it never so *Wicked*.

C. No ; There you are bound up, by a *Superiour Law*.

N. C. Have you so soon forgot your self? You would not *allow* me to be a Judge, just now ; and here, you *make* me one.

C. Right. To your *self*, you are one, but not to the *Publique* ; you are a Judge of *your own Thought*, but not of the *Law*.

N. C. And does not *This way* of Arguing as much endanger *Authority*, as the *Other* ? For *All* may Judge *Thus*, as well as I.

C. 'Tis possible they *may*. Nay we'll suppose an Imposition foul enough to move them all to do so; and yet there's a large difference: For *Diversity of Judgment* does not shake the *Foundation of Authority*; and a Man may *disobey a Sinful Command*, with great Reverence to the *Power that Imposes it*.

N. C. You were saying e'en now, that my Duty to God, and to the King, could never be *Inconsistent*. How shall I behave myself, I pray'e, if the King command one thing, and God another? I cannot observe the *Law*, without violence to my *Conscience*, nor discharge my *Conscience*, without Offence to the *Law*. What Course shall I take, to avoid *Enterfering*?

C. Demean your self as a *Christian*, toward the *LAW* of God, one the *One* hand, and as a *Subject*, toward the *ORDINANCE* of God, on the *Other*: As considering, that you are discharg'd of your *Obedience* in *That Particular*, but not of your *Subjection* in the *General*.

N. C. But Case the Supreme Magistrat, should by a *Law*, Establish a *False Worship*.

C. He's nevertheless your *Prince*, and even in *This Complication*, you may acquit.

quit your self both to *God*, and to *Cesar*. Though the *Worship* be amiss, The *Magistrate* is yet to be Reverenc'd; and you are to divide the *One* from the *Other*; in such manner, as still both to *Fear God*, and *Honour the King*. This *Loyal*, and *Religious Separation* of our *Duties*, will set us right in the *Main Controversie*. Where do ye find that *Kings Reign*, upon *Condition* of Ruling *Righteously*? Or that we owe them *Less*, *AFTER* Misgovernment, then we did *Before*?

N. C. But do you say, we are bound to *Honour* an *Idolatrous Prince*? This is not according to the *Doctrine* of many of our *Grave Divines*.

C. They are never the *Better Divines* for *That Doctrine*. The *Prince*, I tell ye, you are bound to *Honour*, though not as an *Idolater*. Shall the *Vice*, or *Errour* of the *Person*, degrade the *Order*? By *That Rule*, The *World* must continue without a *Government*, till we can find *Men without Failings*.

N. C. So that, when it makes for your *Turn*, you can Allow (I see) of *Distinguishing* betwixt the *PERSON*, and the *OFFICE*.

C. Betwixt the *Frailty* of the *One*, and the *Sacredness* of the *Other*, I do: for
Kings

Kings Command, as Gods, though they Judge, as Men. But I do no more approve of Dividing the Person of a Prince, from his Authority, then of Dividing his Soul from his Body.

N. C. And I beseech you, *What is That, which you call AUTHORITY?*

C. It is the Will, and Power of a Multitude, deliver'd up by Common Consent, to some One Person, or More, for the Good, and Safety of the Whole: And This Representative Acts for All. Now on the other side, The Disposition of such, or such a Number of Persons, into an Order of Commanding, and Obeying, is That which we call a Society.

N. C. *What is the Duty of the Supreme Magistrate?*

C. To procure the Welfare of the People; Or, according to the Apostle, He is the Minister of God, for a Comfort to those that do Well, and for a Terrour to Evil doers.

N. C. *How far are his Laws Binding upon his Subjects?*

C. So far, as They that Parted with their Power, had a Right over Themselves.

N. C. *Whence was the Original of Power?*

Power? And what *Form* of Government was First; *Regal*, or *Popular*?

C. Power was Ordin'd of God, but *Specifi'd* by *Man*: And beyond doubt, the *First Form* of Government was *Monarchique*.

N. C. But I should rather think the *Popular Form* was First: For how could there be a *King*, without a *People*?

C: So was the *Son* before the *Father*, you may say, for *How could there be a Father without a Son*? But the Question is; *First*: Was the *World* ever without a Government, since the *Creation* of *Man*? *Secondly*; Whether was there *first* in the *World*, *One Man*, or *More*? But we are not here upon the *Form* of Government, but upon the *Latitude* of *Humane Jurisdiction*; be the *Sovereignty* where it will. And my Assertion is, that It extends to whatsoever God has left Indifferent. If you deny This, you overthrow all Government.

N. C. And what are you the better, If I should grant it; unless we could All come to an *Agreement*, about what is Indifferent, and what not?

C. Which must be procured by the Allowance of some *Judicial Authority* to decide it.

S E C T. XXII.

No End of Controversie, without a FINAL and UNACCOMPTABLE JUDGE, from whose Sentence there shall be no Appeal.

C. **W**Hen *Subjects* come once to Dispute *Laws*, The *War* is already *Declar'd* against the *Government*. For it is not the *Equity* or *Iniquity* of the *MATTER* of the *Law*, that is the *Question*; but the *AUTHORITY* of the *LAW-MAKER*; under the countenance indeed of somewhat that might be *mended* in the *Law* it *self*. And the *Business* comes *Immediately* to *This Issue*; Whether the *King*, or the *People*, shall *Determine*, in what concerns the *Good* of the *Community*? That is to say; Whether the *Government* shall *Stand*, or *Fall*? Whether or no we shall submit our selves *quietly* to be *over-ruled* in all *Controversies*, by a *Definitive Sentence* of *Law*; (according to the *End*, and *Intention* of *Government*, in its first *Institution*) Or otherwise, by receding from that *Cons-*
mon,

mon, Peaceable, and Impartial Arbitrator of all our *Differences*; from our *Faith given*; our *Oaths*, and *Contracts*: throw our selves back again into a State of *Nature*, and *Dissolution*; and for want of a *Moderator*, leave all our *Disagreements* to be decided by the *Sword*? (The certain Event of all *Popular Appeals*, from *Laws*, to *Multitudes*)

This was the Ruine of us, in our Late Confusions. The *Faction*, you saw, could do nothing, upon the Suggestions of *Right*, or *Wrong*; *Convenience*, or *Inconvenience*; till they came to make *Themselves* the *Judges* of it: And no sooner were they Possess of *That Pretension*, but all went presently head-long to Destruction. From *Questioning* the *Legal Power* of the *King*, they proceeded to the Exercise of an *Arbitrary Power*, *Themselves*: From *Asserting* the *Subjects Liberties*, to the *Invading* of them: And from the *Reformation* of *Abuses*, to the *Extirpation* of the *Government*. *The Two Houses* led the *Dance*, and outed the *King*; *The Commons* did as much for the *Lords*; and the *People*, as much for the *Commons*: Which comes to no more, then what was reasonably to be expected, upon turning the Course of Publick Affairs into a wrong

Channel; and subjecting the *Indisputable Rights* of *Sovereign Authority*, to the *Censures*, and *Expostulations* of the *Rabble*.

N. C. What are those *Indisputable Rights*, I beseech ye?

C. I reckon (among others) The *Power* of *Making* Laws; and likewise of *Enforcing* the *Execution* of them; without admitting any sort of *Demur*, or *Contradiction*: for let the *People* break in once upon any *One Law*, and they will hardly quit their hold, till they have worm'd out, or *unsettled* all the *Rest*. In short; I do esteem it a matter of *Absolute Necessity*, to the *Peace*, and the very *Being* of all *Government*, to have some *Unaccountable Judge*; some *Unquestionable Expedient* of *Law*, or *Authority*, for the *Ending* of *Controversies*: The *Determination* to be *Final*, and *Decisive*: No *Appealing* from it, and no contending *beyond* it.

N. C. What not in *Case of Error*? I could be well enough content with a *Judge*; and with *Indisputable Laws*, if you could but assure me of *Infallible Law-Makers*. But I should be sorry to see a *Roman-Infallibility* set up in *England*,

C. So that rather than a *Fallible Judge*,
you

you will have *None at all*. You could be content with a *Judge*, you say; but then *That Judge* must be *Questionable*, in Case of *Error*; so that *Another Judge* is to Judge *Him*; and the very *Judge of This Judge*, is *Himself Questionable*; and so is *his Judge*, and his *Judges Judge*; (*in Infinitum*) in Case of *Error*: Which Case of *Error* may be Alledg'd, where-soever there is no *Infallibility*; and if there be no *Infallibility* in Nature, then by your Rule, there can be no *Judge* in Nature.

N. C. I do not say but a Man may Judge Certainly in some Cases, though not Infallibly in All: and all I ask, is only a Free Exercise of my Judgment at Discretion, without being ty'd up to an Implicit Resignation. There is but a Right, and a Wrong; and the One I must Embrace, and Reject the Other. How shall I know This from That, without Enquiry? And what am I the better for That Enquiry, if when I have Learn'd my Duty, I am debarr'd the Liberty to Practise it?

C. You turn the Question, from the Necessity of a Judge, to his Infallibility. 'Tis all one to me, whether you make him Infallible, or Credible, or what you make him, or where you place him; provided

that he be Acknowledg'd *Necessary*, and *Unaccomptable*. That He is *Necessary*, I presume you will easily afford me: for there can be no *Peace* without him, every Man being at Liberty to *Wrangle*, where no Man is Authoris'd to take up the *Strife*. But would you have him *Unaccomptable*, or no?

N.C. What greater Encouragement is there in the *World*, to *Tyranny*, then the Opinion of an *Unaccomptable* Sovereignty?

C. What is it rather (you should have said) that *Excites Sedition*, and *Depopulates Kingdoms*, so much as the *Contrary*? And doubtless, the *Fiercest Tyranny* is much more supportable, then the *Mildest Rebellion*.

N.C. Truly, as to the Convenience of a *Definitive Sentence*, I should be glad to see it; without the *Hazzard* of a *Definitive Injustice*.

C. You mistake your self, if you oppose a *Possible Injury* on the *One* side, to a *Certain Wrangle*, and *Confusion* on the *Other*. If *Infallibility* you cannot find, why may not the fairest *Probability* content you?

N.C. But would you have that *Probability* govern by *Unquestionable*, and *Authoritative Conclusions*? C. By

C. By any means ; you do nothing else : For where *Controversies* are *Inevitable*, and *Concord* (if it may be had) *Necessary* ; What can be more Reasonable, then to chuse the most *Competent Judge* of the *Matter* in Controversie, for the Concluding *Umpire* of the *Controversie* it self ?

N.C. But a Man may Judge *Probably* in *One Case*, and *Improbably* in *Another* : Suppose the *Determination* to be manifest *Error*, or *Injustice* ; would you have the same *Submission* paid to it, as if it were *Equity*, and *Truth* ?

C. Yes : To the *Determination*, though not to the *Error* : You are to stand to the *Authority* of the Sentence, without Contesting the *Equity* of it : for *Right*, or *Wrong*, 'tis a *Decision*. The Principal *Scope*, and sure *End* of a *Reference*, is *Peace* : The *Hopeful Event*, and *Issue* of it, is *Righteous Judgment*. Is it not well then, to be *sure* of the *One*, and in so fair a *Likelihood* of the *Other* ? Put it to the worst ; You are not bound to be of the *Judge* his *Opinion*, but to be overrul'd by his *Authority* : Neither do you undertake that he shall Judge *Critically*, as to the *Subject* of the *Question* ; but that he shall Judge *Effectually*, as to the purpose of the *Reference*.

N. C. *This Resignation may do well, in Cases of Civil Interest: but it will hardly hold in Matters of Conscience. Who shall pretend to Judge of my Conscience, beside God, and my Self?*

C. *The Scripture, which is the Rule of all Consciences, shall be the Judge of Yours. But the Question is not, What the Conscience Is, but what it Ought to be: Not what your Private Judgment says, but what the Scripture means; and the Thing I strive for, is a Judge of That: A Judge of the Rule of Faith; which I take to be all out as necessary, as a Judge of a Political Law.*

You cannot but allow, that there are Diversities of Opinions, as well in Religion, as concerning Secular Affairs: And such is our Corruption, that we draw Poyson, even from the Fountain of Life; and the Word of God it self, is made the Warrant of all Crimes, and the Foundation of all Heresies.

Look behind ye, and you may see a Prince Murther'd by his Subjects: Authority Beheaded by a Pretended Law, and all this Defended by a Text. The Church Devour'd by a Divided Ministry; The Government overturn'd by a Solemn League and Covenant to support it: An
Arbitrary

Arbitrary Power Introduc'd by the *Patrons of Liberty*: The *Lord's Prayer* Cashtier'd, to make way for the *Motions of the Holy Ghost*; and *Charity* it self *Extinguish'd* for the *Advancement of the Gospel*. We have liv'd to see as many *Heresies*, as *Congregations*; and a *Confistorian Scrutiny*, prest beyond the Rigour of a *Spanish Inquisition*. We have seen some that (a) *abhor Idols, committing Sacrilege*. *Christ's Kingdom* cry'd up, till his (b) *Divinity is Deny'd*. *Strictness of Life* *Inculcated*, till the very *Rule of it* (c) *(The Decalogue it self) is Rejected*: And *Blasphemy* hunted out of the *Tavern*, into the *Pulpit*.

(a) Rom. 2. 22.
(b) By the Familists.
(c) By the Antinomians.

In fine; What *Sin*, and *Misery* have we not *known*, and *felt*, since under the *Form of Liberty of Conscience*, This *Freedom of a Private Spirit* came in vogue? Nor are we ever to expect better from it, till all Men shall conspire to do the same thing, where every Man is left to his Own Gust, to do what he pleases. And whence flows all this *Mischief*, and *Confusion*, but from a *License of Wandring* from the *Rule*? Methinks These *Practises* should put you, and your Cause out of Countenance.

N.C. I am no Advocate for *Anarchy*,
though

though no Friend to *Uniformity*: And I know 'tis with *Non Conformists*, as with other People; there are Good and Bad of All sorts. But to go with the *Moderate*: Would you have all Mens Consciences Govern'd by the same Rule?

C. Better Particulars suffer for Incompliance with the *Publique*, then the *Publique* suffer for Complying with Particulars. *Uniformity* is the Ciment of both *Christian*, and *Civil Societies*: Take That away, and the *Parts* drop from the *Body*; One Piece falls from Another.

The *Magistrate* (for *Orders* sake) requires *Uniformity*; You, and your Associates oppose it, upon a Plea of *Conscience*. The Question is; Whether He shall Over-rule your Opinions, or You Over-rule His Authority? This Dispute begets a *War*, for want of a *Judge*; and to prevent that Consequence, I offer that a *Judge* is Necessary. Or put it Thus: You, and I differ; and possibly we are Both in the *Wrong*; but most certainly we are not Both in the *Right*; and yet neither of us but thinks well enough of his own Opinion. What's to be done in This Case? Shall we Wrangle Eternally?

N. C. No, we'l rather put the Matter to Arbitration.

C. Well

C. Well; but the *Arbiter himself* is *Fallible*; and may mistake too: Or let him have the Wisdom of an *Angel*, he cannot please us *Both*: For That which seems *Right* to the *One*, will appear *Wrong* to the *Other*. Shall we stand to his *Award* whatever it be? If not; take into your Thought these Consequences. You refuse to submit, because it is *Wrong*; and I may refuse, by the same Reason, though it be *Right*: (For, *Every Man's Reason is of equal Force, where there is no Common, and Representative Reason to Bind All.*) So that by your Reckoning, Every Man is in the *Right* to *Himself*, and in the *Wrong* to *all the World besides*: (for I perswade my self, that Nature never produc'd Two Persons, in all Points, of the same Judgment.)

Now, if you can neither deny *Confusion* to be the *Natural Effect* of this *Liberty of Judgment*; nor the want of a *Regulating*, and *Decretory Sentence*, to be the *Cause* of This *Confusion*, I hope you'll grant me the *Necessity* of an *Unaccomptable Judge*.

N. C. Is not the *Word* of *God* a *Sufficient Judge*?

C. No: That's no *Judge*, but [*a Rule for Christians to Judge BY*] and the great *Danger*

Chillingworth's Safe Way. p. 57

Danger lies upon the *Meaning* of That *Rule*. Witness those *Swarms* of *Heresies*, that have over-spread this Land, since the Bible has been deliver'd up to the Interpretation of *Private Spirits*.

N. C. You say well, if you could direct me to a Judge that we might all rely upon.

C. And you say something too, if you could make appear, that *None at all* is better than the *Best we have*: Or that *Popular Errors*, *Numberless*, and *Inevitable*, (with the *Dissolution* of *Societies* to boot) are to be preferr'd to the *Few*, and only *Possible Failings* of *Authority*, attended however with *Peace*, and *Agreement*. The Question, Briefly, is This. Whether will you rather have; *One Fallible Judge*, or a *Million* of *Damnable Heresies*?

N. C. Truly, as you have reduc'd it, to a *Certainty* of *Peace* the *One* way, and to as great a *Certainty* of *Discord*, the *Other*; to a *Certainty* of *Many Errors*, without a Judge, and to a bare *Possibility* of some few, with *One*: I think a *Final Judge* may be *Convenient*, if not *Necessary*.

C. If you find it so in the *Church*, sure you will not *Dispute* it in the *State*; especially

especially against an Experience too, the most forcible of all Reasons. We were never troubled with *Constructive Necessities*; with Cavils about the *Receptacle of Power*, and the *Limits of Obedience*: With Distinctions betwixt the *Political*, and the *Natural Right* of the *People*; The *Legal*, and the *Personal Will* of the *Prince*; and betwixt the *Equity*, and the *Letter* of the *Law*: till Judgment was forc'd from its proper Course, and the *Decision of Political Controversies*, committed to the Frivolous, and Tumultuary Arbitrations of the *People*.

N. C. Nay, I am as much for a Judge, as You; but not for One Judge to All Purposes: For indeed, for any Judge to be Absolute as you would have him.

C. I tell ye again, A Judge, and no Absolute Judge, is No Judge: and you shall as soon find the End of a Circle, as of a Controversie, by such a Judge. Nor is it yet my Intention, that One Judge should serve for All Purposes.

N. C. Divide your Matter then, and assign to every Judicable Point its Proper Judge.

C. You have Reason; for truly I do not take the *Magistrate* to be any more

a Judge of *My* Conscience, then *I* am of *His*.

N. C. No doubt of it ; And it were an Encroachment upon the Prerogative of God Himself, for the Magistrate to Challenge it.

C. How comes it now, that we, that accord so well in the *End*, should differ so much in the *Way* to't? But I hope the Clearing of the next Point will set all Right : for after the Acknowledgment of the *General Necessity* of a Judge, we have nothing further to do, but to agree upon the Judge, and so submit.

S E C T. XXIII.

*The Three Great Judges of Mankind, are
GOD, MAGISTRATES, and
CONSCIENCE.*

SOME Things we do as *Men* ; Other Things, as *Men* in *Society* ; and Some again, as *Christians*. In the *first* place, We are acted by the Law of *Individuals* ; Which Law, in the *Second* place, is Subjected to That of *Government* ; And Both these Laws are, in the *Third* place,
Sub

Subordinate to That of *Religion*; i.e. *The Law of God's Revealed Will*. So that *the Three Great Judges of Mankind are, GOD, MAGISTRATES, and CONSCIENCE.*

Man as Consisting of *Soul, and Body*, may be again *Subdivided* within *Himself*. Take Him in his *Lower Capacity*, and He is sway'd by the *General Law of Animal Nature*, But in his *Divine* part, you will find Him Govern'd by the Nobler Law of *Refined Reason*; which *Reason*, in *some* Cases, we call *Prudence*, and in *others*, *Conscience*, according as it is Variously Exercised.

The Things which we do purely as *MEN*, (Abstracted from any Ingredients of *Policy*, or *Regulated Religion*) are either *Natural Actions*, *Prudential*, or *Moral*. Of the *first* sort, are Those *Actions* to which we are prompted by a *Natural Impulse*, in order to the Conservation of *Life*, and *Being*. Of the *third* sort, are such *Actions* as we perform in Obedience to *Moral Principles*. (Which are no other, then the *Divine Will*, as it is couched under the Dictate of *Humane Reason*) And *Betwixt* These *Two*, lies the Region of *Middle Actions*: That is, of such *Actions*, as although not of *simple*,
and

and *strict Necessity*, either to *Life*, or *Virtue*, are notwithstanding *Useful*, and *Commodious*, for the *Guidance*, and *Comfort* of the *One*, and for the *Practice* of the *Other*. The accurate Disquisition of This Interest clears the Main Difficulty of the Question; for Nothing has embroyl'd us more, then the *Mistaken Rights*, and *Privileges* of *Individuals*: Which Mistakes being once made manifest, by laying open the *Subordination* of several *Claims*, and *Powers*, every Man may take a distinct View of his own Province.

N. C. If you will proceed Regularly, you are to *State* these *Subordinations* as you go.

C. Agreed; and we are now upon the *Right* of *Individuals*: In which naked Simplicity of Considering *Man*, without any Regard to the Ordinary Motions of *Providence*, in the *Order*, and *Regiment* of the *World*, We shall yet find a *Natural Subordination* within *Himself*, and the Law of *Sense*, under the Dominion of the Law of *Reason*, in the *same Subject*. These are the *Laws* which

Rom. 7. 23. the Apostle calls the *Law* of his *M E M-
B E R S*, and the *Law* of his *W I L L*. The *Former Law* (and the less Excellent) is the Law *Sensitive*; which is no other, then

then the Law of *Self-Preservation*. (The *Supreme* Law of *Animal* Beings, as it is of *Rationals* the *Lowest*) This Law *Sensitive*, is no other than the Manifestation of *God* in the *Creature*: for what *Sense* does, *Nature* does; and what *Nature* does, *God* does.

N. C. But what is That Power all this while, which you call *NATURE*?

C. It is the Ordinary Working of *God* in all his *Creatures*; by *Virtue* of which *Divine Impression*, and *Influence*, Every thing is moved to seek the *Utmost Perfection* whereof it is *Capable*. As for the *Purpose*; The *Perfection* of *MAN* is the *Congruity* of his *Actions* with his *Reason*; which is Nothing else, but That which we call *VIRTUE*. The *Perfection* of *BEASTS* lies a degree lower: For they are only mov'd by a *Sensual Impulse*, towards what is *Convenient* for them; and when they have it, They *Rest*.

N. C. When People are grabell'd, they fly to their *Impulses*, and *Occult Qualities*. Where lies the Difference, I beseech you, between *Their Impulse*, and *Our Choice*?

C. Their *Impulse* carries them on through a *Sensitive Search*, not any *Deliberative Discourse*; And there is no *Ele-*

Elton neither at last: But only the *Simple Prosecution* of a *Determinate Appetite*, without imagining any *Proportion* betwixt the *Means*, and the *End*.

N. C. But still we find, that there is a *Proportion*: and the *Motion* appears to us according to the *Method* of *Reason*: And a very *Orderly Proceeding* from a *Question*, to a *Resolution*.

C. Is it *Reason*, think ye, that makes a *Dog* follow his *Nose*, and Hunt for *Meat*, when he is *Hungry*? Or will you call it *Choice*, if he leaves a *Turf* for a *Bone*? Now if you ask how This comes about: He is guided by *Instinct* toward the *End*; and *Sense* carries him thorough the *Means*.

N. C. But why should the same *Process* of *Means*, and the same *Application* of *Causes*, be ascribed only to *Instinct*, in *Brutes*, and to *Reason*, in *Man*?

C. You are to take notice, that all *Natural Operations* are *Regular*, and *Ordinate*, by what *Means* soever performed: But it does not follow, because the *Method* is according to *Reason*, that therefore the *Instrument* must be *Reasonable*. But to mind what we are upon.

The *Law* of *Self-Preservation*, is a *Law* common to *Beasts* with *Men*; but not

not of *Equal Force*, and *Obligation*: for *Their Sovereign Interest* is *Life*; *Ours* is *Virtue*: And therefore your late Argument for *Defensive Arms*, under Pretence of that Extremity, was but a *Brutish Plea*: For if the Consideration of *Virtue* be not above That of *Life*, Where lies the *Advantage* of *Our Reason*?

N. C. But when the *Death* is certain, and the *Virtue* doubtful, Who shall decide the Point?

C. In a Case abstracted from the *Ties*, and *Duties* of *Religion*, and *Government*, every *Man's Reason* sits as Judge upon his own *Life*. As for Instance; You are in the Hands of Thieves, and only This Choice offer'd you, either to take a *False Oath*, or to lose your *Life*. Your *Conscience* tells you, that you must rather *Perish*, then *Forswear* your self: But if you can preserve your self, without Violence to a *Superiour Duty*, you are your own *Murderer* if you do not. Thus far I think we are safe, and I suppose agreed, that every *Individual* is to Govern himself by his *Natural Conscience*. But when the several *Particulars* come to be bundled up in *One Community*, the Case is otherwise.

N. C. I am sorry to hear you say that. Why should not every Man

be Govern'd by his own Conscience, as well in *Consort*, as in *Solitude*, as well in *Company*, as by *Himself*? We will you have it, that our *Duty to God ceases* in the Act of becoming *Subjects to a Civil Power*?

C. As to your *Conscience*, you are as free now, as you were before: But your *Body* is no longer your *Own*, after you are once enrolled a Member of a *Society*. And here's the Difference; You were your *own* Servant before, and now you are the *King's*. (For what is *Government*, but the *Wisdom*, *Resolve*, and *Force* of every *Particular*, gather'd into *One Understanding*, *Will*, and *Body*?) And This comes up to what I have already Deliverd, that, *Whatsoever God has left INDIFFERENT, is the Subject of HUMANE POWER*.

N. C. But who shall be Judge of what's *Indifferent*?

C. Let That be Examined the very next Thing we do.

You are already satisfied, that an *Authorized Judge* is absolutely *Necessary*, in Order to the *Peace of Church*, and *State*, and to the Ending of all *Publique Differences*: But we are not yet resolv'd about
Our

Our Judges; Or if we were, yet in Regard they are but *Men*, and so may *Erre*, [*Infallibility being departed with Christ and chilling his Apostles; in lieu of which Living, and worth's Infalible Guides, God has in Providence given us a Plain, and Infalible Rule*] We are now to make Enquiry, how far a *Private Judge* may be allow'd to Oppose, or Differ from a *Publique*, in Case of a *Reluctant Conscience*, and in some sort to Judge his Judge?

N. C. You say very well; For place the *Ultimate Decision* where you will, It is (as you said before) an *Infalible Determination* as to the *Strife*; but Not so, as to the *Truth*; and comes at last to This, that every *Man* (in some Degree) re-judges his Judge. If I be fully convinc'd, either, that the *Command* is *Sinful* in it self, or the *Opinion* *Wicked*; I am neither to Obey the One, nor to Embrace the Other; as being tied up by a *General Obligation* of rather Obeying, and Believing God, then *Man*. Say more; If in *Obedience* to the *Magistrate*, I commit a *Sin* against God, and do it ignorantly too, That very Act in *Ignorance* is *Criminal*: (If I had the Means of being better inform'd :) For No *Humane Respect* can

justify an Offence against God. Now if I am bound to do Nothing that is Ill; I am likewise bound, before I do any thing, to satisfy my self, whether it be Ill, or No: For otherwise, I may follow a False Religion for a True, and be Damned in the End, for not minding what I did. This do I take for Proof sufficient, that No Man is so Implicitely Obliged to rely upon other Mens Eyes, as totally to Abandon the Direction of his own; Or so unconditionally to swear Obedience to other Mens Laws, and Perswasions, as to hold no Intelligence at all with that Sacred Law, and Faithful Counsellor which he carries in his own Bosom.

C. I am so far from advising you to renounce your Reason, that, on the contrary, I would have you absolutely guided, and concluded by it; and only to Obey for Quiet sake, so far as you can possibly Obey in Conscience.

N. C. What if a Single Person hit that Truth, which a General Council misses? Which will you have him follow; Truth, or Authority?

C. I would have him follow Truth with his Soul, and Authority with his Body. But it is not for so remote a Possibility
as

as This is, to bring the *Fancies* and *Imaginations* of a *Private Spirit* into a Competition with *Resolutions* of *Law*, And yet for the *Possibility* sake, We'll take the very *Supposition* likewise into Consideration, and Word the whole Matter as plainly as we can.

The *Church* says, Ye *may* Do; And the *Law* says, You *must* Do, That which your *Conscience* says, You ought *not* to Do. How will you reconcile your *Duty*, and your *Conscience*, in This Case?

N. C. Very well; For I think it my *Duty* to Obey my *Conscience*, upon This Principle, That *Conscience* is God's *Substitute* over *Individuals*.

C. Keep to That, and Answer me once again; Is not the *Civil Magistrate* God's *Substitute* too? If He be, How comes your *Conscience* to take place of his *Authority*? They are Both *Commission'd* alike, and consequently, Both to be Obey'd alike: Which is *Impossible*, where their *Commands* are *Inconsistent*.

N. C. The *Magistrate* is a *Publique Minister*, and his *Commission* does not reach to *Particular Consciences*.

C. And on the Other side, You are a *Private Person*, and there is as little Reason for your *Opinion* to Operate upon a

Publique Law. So that if I mistake you not, we are upon accord thus far; That *every Particular* is to look to *One*, and the *King* to the *Whole*.

Now if you would deal as Candidly with me, about the *Ecclesiastical Power*, as you have done in the *Civil*, we might make short work of This Question. I hope you will not deny that the *Church* is

(a) *Rutherford's Due Right of Presbyt.* as well (a) *Authorized to TEACH, and INSTRUCT in all the External Acts of Worship, as (b) the Magistrate is to COMPEL to Those External Acts.*

P. 356.

(b) *Ibid.*

P. 352.

(c) *Ibid.*

P. 407.

(d) *Ibid.*

P. 415.

N. C. There is no Doubt, (c) *The Church (as the Church) has a Ministerial Power (Ex Officio) to Define Controversies, according to the Word of God; And that (d) A Synod Lawfully Conven'd, is a Limited, Ministerial, and Bounded Visible Judge, and to be believed in, so far as they follow Christ, the Peremptory and Supreme Judge, speaking in his own Word.*

C. This will not do our Business yet; for to say, that a Synod is to be believed in, SO FAR as it follows Christ, seems to make Those the Judges of That Act, that are to be Concluded by it; and leaves the Credit of the Authority, dependent upon the Conscience, Fancy, or Humour of the Believer.

Believer. For 'tis but any Man's saying, that the Synod does not follow Christ, and that he trusts in it so far as it does follow Him. And this is enough to keep the Controversie afoot, without any hope of Decision.

N.C. We are indeed to believe Truths *Ruthers.* determined by Synods, to be Infallible, Free Disp. and never again liable to Retraction, or P. 36. Discussion; Not because [so says the Synod,] but because [so says the Lord.]

C. Still you are short; for 'tis not in Our Power to disbelieve what we acknowledge to be a Truth: But That which is Truth at the Fountain, may be Corrupted in the Passage; Or at least appear so to Me, and What then?

N.C. It must be look't upon as an Error of the Conscience; which is no Discharge at all of your Obedience: From which Error you are to be reclaimed, either by Instruction, or Censure. For the People are obliged to Obey *Ibid. p. 27.* Those that are OVER THEM IN THE LORD, who Watch for their Souls, as those who must give an Accompt;] And not oblig'd to stand to, and obey the Ministerial and Official Judgment of THE PEOPLE. He that Heareth YOU (MINISTERS of the
G O-

G O S P E L, *not the P E O P L E*)
Heareth ME ; And He that Despiseth
YOU, Despiseth ME.

C. Why should not We Two shake Hands now , and Join in the Act for *Uniformity* ? You cannot say , that it wants any thing of the full Complement of a *Binding Law* ; Either in regard of the *Civil*, or of the *Ecclesiastical Authority*. Here is *first*, the *Judgment* of the *Church* duly conven'd, touching the *Meetness*, and *Conveniency* of the *Rites*, and *Forms* therein Contained. You have next, the *Royal Sanction*, *Approving*, and *Authorizing* Those *Rites*, and *Forms* ; and *Requiring* your *Exact Obedience* to them. Now so it is, that you can neither Decline the *Authority* of your *Judges*, nor the *Acknowledgment* of your *Duties* ; What is it then that hinders your *Obedience* ?

N. C. That which to Me is more then all the *World* , It goes against my *Conscience*.

C. Only That Point then , and we have done with This Subject.

We have already concluded, that *God* is the *Judge* of the *World* ; That the *Church* is the *Judge* of what properly concerns

concerns Religion; That the Civil Magistrate is Judge of what belongs to *Publique Order, and Peace*; and That every Man's Conscience is the Judge of what concerns his own Soul. The Remaining Difficulty is This; *How I am to behave my self in a Case. where the Law bids me do One Thing, and my Conscience, Another.*

To take a True Estimate of This Matter, We are first to Ballance the Two Interests, that meet in Competition; The One, for the Law, and the Other, against it.

There is, in *Favour*, and for the *EXECUTION* of the *Law* (meaning That of *Uniformity*) 1. The *Personal Conscience*, and 2. The *Political Conscience* of the *King*. There is moreover, for the *EQUITY* of it, the Solemn and Deliberate Judgment of the *Church*; which is, effectually, the *Publique Conscience*; and lastly, for the *OBSERVANCE* of it, There is the *Duty* of the *Subject*, which, if it be withdrawn, does not only Invalidate This *Particular Act*, but it loosens the Sinews of *Sovereign Authority*; and which is more, it destroys even a *Divine Ordinance*; For take away Obedience, and Government lapses into *Confusion*. Now

Toleration Discus'd.

Now for the *Counterpoise* ; *AGAINST This Law*, and *Thus Supported*, appears *your Naked Conscience*. Nay, That's the *Fairest* on't ; It may be *worse*, and in *Truth*, any thing that's *Ill*, under *That Name*.

N. C. But what's the *World* to *Me*, in the *Scale* against my *Soul* ?

C. You have great Reason sure, and 'tis no more then every Man may challenge : That is, to *Stand*, or *Fall*, to his own *Conscience* : Is that your Principle ?

N. C. Yes, out of Doubt ; 'tis *Mine*, and *Yours*, and any *Man's* that's *Honest*.

C. Well ; Hold ye a little : *Your Conscience* will not down with *This Law* ; and *This Law* will as little down with *your Conscience*. Weigh now the *Good* against the *Bad* ; What if it *stands* ? What if it *yields* ? Make the Case worse then it is ; as Bad as Bad may be, in your own Favour. You cannot comply with the *Law* ; And the *Law* will not stoop to *You*. What follows upon it ?

N. C. The Ruine of many Godly People, that desire to worship God, according to his Word.

C. That Plea wrought little upon *You* from *Us* ; but let that pass. What sort of

of Ruine do you mean ? Ruine of *Liberty*, or *Estate* ? (For this Law draws no *Blood*) *State* your Misfortunes, I beseech ye.

N.C. No Man must Hold a *Benefice*, or Teach a *School*, but upon Terms of such *Subscription*, or *Acknowledgment*, as many an honest Man would rather Die then *Consent* to : So that We are Distress'd, not only for Our Selves, as being deprived of the Comfort of all *Spiritual*, and *Heavenly Freedoms* ; But Our poor *Infants* are expos'd to be Undone, wanting the Means of a *Religious Education*.

C. If This be All, never Trouble your selves ; for many an honest Man has outliv'd more then this comes to. In short ; There's a *huge Clamour* ; but (God knows) with little *Reason*. Some Particulars will possibly suffer for want of a *Toleration* : and who are They ; but the Profest Opposers of the *Law* ? And on the Other side, All the *Friends* of the Government will suffer by it.

If you would see the *Event* of Granting what you ask, Turn but your Face toward — 41, and then *Blush*, and *Repent*. Besides ; You're not aware, that in Contesting with the *Law*, you Quarrel

rel with your *self*: *THERE'S YOUR OWN VOTE AGAINST YOU*; and all this Muttering, is no other then your *Faction's Will*, wrangling with your *Political Consent*. And yet I say, *Stick to your Conscience*: Let us now put the Case of a Real Distance, betwixt *This Act*, and your *Conscience*. How will you divide your *Duty*?

N.C. I'll follow your Advice, and *stick to my Conscience*.

C. Now change Hands, and make your self the *Supreme Magistrate*. He has a *Double Conscience*; One that concerns *Himself*, the *Other*, his *People*.

What his Majesties *Personal Judgment* is, has been *Declared* Abundantly; What his *Prudential Judgment* may dispose Him to, lies in His *Royal Brest*. But be That as Heaven shall Order it. Here's the *Partition* of your Rights: The *King's Prerogative* has nothing to do with your *Conscience*; and your *Conscience* has as little to do with *His Majesties Prerogative*. The King is Accomptable to *God* for the Welfare of his *People*; and You are only Accomptable to *God* for the Good of your little *Particular*. If You cannot *Obe*y the *Law*, Do not: But abide the *Penalty*. If the *Sovereign* cannot *Relax* the *Law*,

Law, He's as Free to *Execute* it. *Your* Conscience requires *Liberty*, and your *Governour's* Conscience requires *Order*. Now why you should expect, that your *Sovereign* should bring down *His* Conscience to *Yours*, when you find upon Experiment, that you cannot perswade your *Own* to come up to *His*, is to me a Mystery. To Conclude, Keep your self, within your *Sphere*; and where you cannot Consent, as a *Christian*, *Submit*, as a *Subject*; that We may at last hope for some Respite from the Calamities of *Sedition*, and *Schism*.

N. C. And why not *Scandal*, and *Profaneness* too? For the Edge of your *Severity* might be directed to much better Purpose That way.

S E C T. XXIV.]

The Church of England *charges the Non-Conformists with SCHISM, and the Non-Conformists charge those of the Church with SCANDAL. The Matter is taken into Debate.*

N. C. **Y**OUR Position is, That no Toleration is to be admitted, to the hazard of Religion, Good Life, and Government. Keep to That Standard, and you will find that the Conformists have as little Pretense to a Toleration as their Neighbours: and that the Notorious Scandal on the one side, outweighs the Objected Schisms on the other.

C. This will scarce hold, if you come to be Try'd by your own Laws: which make it a Matter of Scandal, by Writing, Preaching, or otherwise, to publish a Disaffection to the Present Government. But Explain your self.

Scobel's
Acts, Part
I. p. 340.

N. C. By Scandal, I mean Habitual Prophaneness, Sensuality, Dissolution of Manners, &c. As by Schism, I suppose

pose you intend *our Incompliances* with *your Church-Discipline*. Weigh These Two now, One against the Other, and do you your self hold the Balance. Set up *your Tavern-Clubs* against *our Conventions*; Oppose *your Combinations* against *God Himself*, to *our Plots* against the *Government*. For you must not take it All, if I tell ye, that *Atheism* is become the *Sport*, and *Salt* of your most Celebrated *Entertainments*. And when you have dash'd the *Bible* out of Countenance, with the *Story* of the *Three Grand Impostors*, or some such *Lashing Piece* of *Drollery*, The *Questioning* of *God's Over-ruling Wisdom*, by *Solemn Arguments*, and the *Placing* of *Fortune* in the *Throne* of *Providence*, is that which commonly *Crowns* your *Conversations*.

C. You should not charge *Personal Crimes* upon a *Party*, unless you can prove them to be rationally Consequent to the *Tenets*, and *Actings* of *That Party*. Now if you can shew me any *Affinity* betwixt *our Principles*, and *These Impieties*, you say something : But if you cannot, The *Dust* of your *Argument* puts out your own *Eyes*. I do not wonder, I must confess, to see a *Nation Over-run* with

Atheism, that has been so many Years under your Tuition: or to find the *Brat* of a *Conventicle* laid at the *Church-Door*.

N. C. May not We charge *Personal Extravagancies* upon your Party, as well as You do upon Ours?

C. Yes: If you can prove the same Agreement against Us, betwixt the *Faults* of the *One*, and the *Principles* of the *Other*, which we are able to justify against You.

The *Episcopal Party*, you know, stood for the *King*; and it is undeniable, that the *King*, and *Church* had the same *Cause*, and *Fate*. It is as unquestionable on the other side, that the *Non-Conformists* destroy'd both the *One*, and the *Other*: Not by Accident neither, but by a *Form'd*, and *Excogitated Design*, wrap'd up, and couch'd in the very *Mystery*, and *Foundation* of the *Schism*: Your *Separation* from a *Communion* with the *Church*, resolving naturally into a *Combination* against the Entire Frame of the *Government*; till in the End, by the help of a *Peinful*, and *Well-affected Ministry*, the Generality of the People were Preach'd into This Division, [i. e.] *Those that could not reach the Cheat, were taught to Scruple at Every Thing; and Those that*
went

went along with it, to make a Conscience of Nothing. And this is it, that has brought us to be so Pester'd with *Enthusiasts*, and *Atheists*.

N. C. But let me tell ye again, the *Atheists* are of the *Other Party*.

C. And let me enform you too, that your *Proceedings* have made *Atheists*, more ways than One.

First: The meer *Quality* of your *Cause* has made *Atheism* the *Interest* of a great many of your *Partakers*; who, to put off the Thought of a Divine Vengeance attending them, if there be a God, Endeavour (for their own Quiet) to persuade themselves that there is no God at all.

Secondly: The Work has been carried on under the Masque of *Holiness*; and the most *Desperate Atheist* is nothing else but a *Crusted Hypocrite*. I speak of your *Religious Atheist*, who has This Odds of the *Profane*, and *Scoffing Wretch*, that he abuses God to his *Face*, and in his own *House*. The Great *Atheists*, indeed, are *Hypocrites* (says Sir Francis Bacon) which *Essay of* are ever handling Holy Things, but without Feeling; so as they must needs be *Cauteriz'd* in the End. *Atheism.*

It is Remarquable (as I have elsewhere

recommended to your Observation) *that in the Holy Scripture there are not so many Woes pronounc'd, nor so many Cautions Inculcated, against any sort of People, as against Hypocrites.* You shall there find, that God has given the Grace of Repentance to Persecutors, Idolaters, Murtherers, Adulterers, &c. But I am mistaken if the whole Bible yields any one Instance of a **CONVERTED Hypocrite.**

Thirdly : You have done more in your Practises, toward the Vindication of Atheism, then all that ever went before ye : and he that overlooks our Story, from 1640, to 1660, will find matter, not only to stagger a Weak Christian, but to put a Wiseman to a Second Thought, and make him Exclaim with the Prophet ;

Psalm 73.
v. 12.

[Lo, These are the Ungodly, These Prosper in the World, and These have Riches in Possession. Then have I cleansed my Heart in vain, and washed my Hands in Innocency,

To see the same Men, *Swearing to day, with their Hands lifted up unto the Lord, in a Holy Covenant, to Defend, and Preserve His Majesties Person : And a while after, with the same Consecrated Lips, - blessing that Cursed Vote, that manifestly led to his Destruction. (The Vote of Non-Addresses)*

Addresses) To see *Ministers*, like so many *Pulpit-Weather-cocks*, shifting from *Party* to *Party*, till they have run through every Point of the Compass: *Swearing*, and *Counter-Swearing*: And when the City was split into more *Factions*, then *Parishes*, still to maintain, that *the whole Schism was Acted by the Holy Ghost*. To find the Pulpit Trading only in *dark*, and *Oraculous Delusions*, instead of *plain*, and *saving Truths*; and the Pretended *Messengers of Peace*, turn'd *Agents* for *Blood*: To *hear*, and *see* all *This*, and *More*, and the *Cause prosper* too, What could the Invention of Man add more to this *Temptation to Apostacy*?

Lastly; Your *Necessitated Toleration*, (*Necessitated*, I say; for you could never have Crush'd the Government without it) started so many lewd Opinions, that it was some Degree of *Modesty*, for fear of a *worse choice*, e'en to be of *No Religion at all*: And without Dispute, many People finding it left so Indifferent, of *what Religion* they were, became *Themselves as Indifferent*, whether they were of *Any*, or *No*. So that the *Scandal* which you would spitefully fasten upon the *Persons* of some of *our Party*, is found to be *Radical*, and *Constitutional*.

in the very *Elements* of yours. Neither is it All, that your *Imputation* is misplaced; but I am afraid you'll find your self in *Another Mistake*.

Which of the Two, do you account the more Tolerable; *SCANDAL*, or *Schism*?

N. C. If by *SCHISM* you mean *A Refusal to joyn with That Church, where I cannot Communicate without Sin*; And if by *SCANDAL*, you intend *such Actions as are of evil Example, and minister Occasion to our Neighbour, of Faling*: I think 'tis easily Determin'd, that the One is not to be suffer'd, and the Other not to be condemn'd.

C. I do not speak of This or That sort, or degree of *Schism*, and *Scandal*; but in the just *Latitude*, both of the One, and the Other. That is to say, (without more Circumstance) Which do you take for the more Tolerable Mischief of the Two?

N. C. Truly, betwixt a *Perverse Separation*, and a *Notorious Scandal*, I think the Choice is hard; but I rather incline against the *Scandal*.

C. Now, if ye will believe *Sir Francis Bacon*, *Schism* is *Both*; [*Heresies, and Schisms*

Schisms (says he) are of all others, the greatest Scandals; yea more then Corruption of Manners.] Essay of
Unity of
Religion.

Consider it, as it stands in Opposition to *Unity*. (which is the *Bond* both of *Religion*, and *Society*) What can be more *Scandalous*, then that which renders *Religion*, *Ridiculous*? And That's the Effect of *Schism*. To see so many *Sects*, grinning one upon another, and yet *All Pretending* to the same *One*, and *Infalible Spirit*. Beside, that *Schism* seldome or never goes *alone*; and in Truth, it is but *Sedition*, in a *Disguise*: For we find, that our *Scrupulous Dissenters*, can with much *Ease*, and *Unity*, Agree in a *War*, though not in a *Ceremony*.

N. C. And may there not be *Conspiracies* in *Scandal*, as well as in *Schism*? There, with an *Evident Design* to bring *Contempt* upon *Religion*: Whereas Here, we find at least a *Colour*, and *Pretense* to *uphold* it. Further; the *Sins* which I accompt *Scandalous*, are many of them *Lebell'd* at the *Prerogative* of *God Himself*; and in short, the *Question* is not, properly, and simply, betwixt *Schism*, and *Scandal*; but betwixt *Schism*, and all other *Sins* whatsoever, that may be *Propagated* by *Con-*
S 4 *versation*,

versation, (for That's the Latitude of Scandal.)

Numb. 24.
16.

Again let me observe from your own Mouth, that *Heresies* are *Scandals*: and several *Heresies* you know, both by the *Laws* of *God*, and *Man*, are Punish'd with *Death*: He that *Blasphemeth* the *Name* of the *Lord*, shall be put to *Death*. From whence you may gather some Difference sure, betwixt the *Heinousness* of the *One*, and of the *Other*.

C. You will proceed by a very Uncertain Rule, to measure the *Sin* by the *Punishment*: for *Political Laws* regard rather *Publique Conveniences*, then *Particular Cases* of *Conscience*. A Man shall lose his *Life* for *Picking a Pocket*, and but hazard his *Ears* for a *False Oath*.

Numb. 16.
1.

Verf. 3.

But if you'll refer the Matter to the *Just*, and *Infallible Judge* of all the World, to *God Himself*; look but into that Dreadful Judgment upon the *Schism* of *Korah*. *Korah*, *Dathan*, &c. rose against *Moses*, with *Two hundred and Fifty Captains* of the *Assembly*, famous in the *Congregation*, and said unto them, *Ye take too much upon You*, since all the *Congregation* is *Holy*,
even

even every One of them, and the Lord is among them.

Wherefore then lift ye your selves above the

Congregation of the Lord?

[And what follow'd?] *The Earth open'd* Verse 32.

her Mouth, and swallow'd them up with their Families, and all the Men that were

with Korah, &c. A Fire came out from Verse 35.

the Lord, and Consumed the Two Hundred and Fifty Men that Offer'd the Incense.

This set the *Multitude* a *muttering* against

Moses, and Aaron; saying, Ye have Verse 41.

killed the People of the Lord.

See now, what came of This *Muttering* too:

Fourteen Thousand Seven Verse 49.

Hundred of them were con-

sumed by a Plague.

You have here, not only a Dreadful Instance of *God's Wrath* against *Schism*; but against a *Schism* also, carry'd on, in the *Stile* of *Our present Non-Conformists*:

Two Hundred and Fifty Cap-

tains of the Assembly, Fa-

mous in the Congregation;

Which *Our English Translation* renders,

An

Disc. of
Relig. p. 25

An Intelligent, Sober sort of Men, Numerous among all Ranks, &c. These rose against *Moses*, and *Aaron*, and said unto Them, Ye take too much upon You. The Congregation is Holy, and the Lord is among Them. Wherefore do ye lift yourselves above the Congregation of the Lord? What is This, but the Language of Our Age, the common Objection against the *Bishops*, for *Lording it over God's Heritage*. The Consequences I leave before you.

N. C. Give me leave now to pass an Observation upon your whole Discourse. You seem to have been very Punctual, and Methodical in the Distribution of the Parts of it. A *Toleration*, or *No Toleration*, was the Question. An *Universal Toleration* you found too *Wide*; A *Limited Toleration* too *Narrow*; and yet after all This, your Opinion was, that a *Toleration* under such and such *Modifications*, and *Restrictions* might be admitted: Upon which
Terms,

Terms, I was content to come to an Issue with You. Now, since This Tender of a Compliance, You have not proceeded, Methinks, with that Candour which I expected from You. But the Main Stress of your Argument lies against the *Whole Party* of the *Non-Conformists*; And (in effect) against *any Toleration at all*: with little or no Regard to those *Accommodable Points*, that might have brought the Matter in Difference to some sort of Composure.

C. It is very True, That I am utterly against *Tolerating* the *Whole Party*, as a Thing of Certain *Inconvenience*, to Religion, and Government; and to the Ruine, no less of *your selves*, then of the *Publique*. Will *Presbytery* ever satisfy the *Independents Conscience*? Or will *Liberty* any better suit with the *Presbyterians*? And yet you could both of you joyn with the *Directory*, against the *Common-Prayer*; with the Authority of the *Pretended Assembly*, against That of the *Church*; wherein you have given Proof to the World, that you were not *United* upon any Consideration of *Conscience*, but with a *Design* upon a *Common Booty*. Ye overturn'd the Government, Divided the

the Spoil, Enrich't your selves, *Embroidered every thing*, and *Settled Nothing*. And yet in those Days there was no Act of Uniformity to hinder you.

This is enough to make Evident, that the *Non-Conformists* are *Intolerable*, in *Conjunction*: But if you think fit to make a Tryal, how far any sort of them may agree with our *Standard of Toleration*, *Apart*, Plead you the Cause of the *Presbyterians*, and let your Brother *Independent* here, (that has been a Witness to our whole Debate) take up the Cudgels for *his own Party*; Not forgetting, that

In the Question of *TOLERATION*, the Foundation of *FAITH*, *GOOD LIFE*, and *GOVERNMENT* is to be Secur'd.

N. C. According to what Latitude are we to understand that which you call the *Foundation of FAITH*?

C. According to the Latitude of the *APOSTLES CREED*; wherein are contained *All the Articles of Simple Faith, which are Necessary to be Explicitly*

Chillingworth's
Safe way,
&c. p. 186.

ly Believed.] And whatsoever was found by *Them*, to be *Necessary*, and *Sufficient* to *Salvation*, continues so still, and ought to be so *Received*, and *Acknowledged* by *Us*: without insisting upon *Deductions*, and *Consequences*, as Points of *Prime*, and *Fundamental Necessity*; though *Occasionally*, and *Obliquely*, they become *Necessary* too. This is the Word of Faith which Rom. 10.8 we Preach, that if thou shalt Confess with thy Mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thy Heart, that God hath raised him from the Dead, thou shalt be saved. Here's the Foundation of *FAITH*: And in That of *GOOD LIFE*, respect is to be had to *Morality*, that nothing be *Tolerated* to the Encouragement of *Looseness*, *Sensuality*, and *Dissolution* of *Manners*.

As there is an *Absolute Necessity* of Providing against *Doctrines* and *Opinions* of this *Quality*; so I think there will be no great *Difficulty*, either of *Discovering*, or of *Suppressing* them: For they are of a Condition so *Notorious*, that they ly open to all People: and then so *Odious* they are, by reason of the *Gross Impiety*, and *Scandal*; that they have no *Friends* upon the Face of the Earth, (for their own sakes, I mean) but the profest *Enemies* of

Christianity, and *Nature*. (It is another Case, when they are made use of in Subserviency to a *Faction*.) So that you may save your selves the Trouble of Catechising your Brethren upon These two Points, and rather spend your Time upon the remaining Caution, for *Securing* the *Government*: which will be much more to Our Purpose; For the Matter we are now upon, is a Question, rather of *Policy*, then of *Religion*.

Tole-

Toleration Discuss'd,
 BETWIXT A
 PRESBYTERIAN,
 AND AN
 INDEPENDENT.

S E C T. XXV.

An Enquiry, upon a Short, and Impartial Survey of the Rise, Progress, and Issue of the War, rais'd by the Two Houses in 1641. Whether were more Criminal, The PRESBYTERIANS, or the INDEPENDENTS.

Presb. **I**F all our Arguments, and Pleas for Toleration, we are still hit in the Teeth, (as in War to our Demands) with Dangerous Practises, and Opinions; The Murder of the Late King; The Over-turning of the Government; and that we have a mind to

to serve the *Son*, as we did the *Father*. Now so far as the *Fact* is undeniable; and truly the *Exception* but Reasonable, as to those that did it; We are first to clear our selves of that execrable *Fact*; to wherein I am content to become an Undertaker for the *Presbyterians*) And to speak afterward, to the Justification of our *Principles*, and *Opinions*.

Indep. Give me leave then to Plead the Cause of the *Independents*; and to observe to you, in the first place, that the *Scotch Non-Conformists* under King *James* were Totally *Presbyterian*: and so were the *English Puritans* under Queen *Elizabeth*.

Presb. Where the *Anabaptists*, *Familists*, and *Brownists*, that started up in Those Days, *Presbyterians*?

Indep. Some *Dutch Anabaptists* came over indeed in 1560; but one Proclamation scatter'd them Immediately. And then for the *Familists*, and *Brownists*, you speak of; Alas! They gave the *Executioner* more Trouble than the *Government*, and were Suppress'd as soon as Detected. But the Formal, and *United Confederacy* was still *Presbyterian*; and you must overthrow all the *Memorials*, and *Records* of

of Those Times to gainsay it. Briefly ; If you look forward, you will find the *Presbyterians* again under King *James*, at *Hampton Court* ; The *Presbyterians* again, in the several Parliaments under King *Charles the First* ; and so the same Hand still, to the beginning of the *Scottish Broils* in 1637. which was but the *Midwifry* of the Plot, they had been so long a Hammering.

Presb. You make nothing, it seems, of the *Turbulent Independents*, that went away to *New England*, *Holland*, and other Parts beyond the Seas, with all the Clamour, and Rancour Imaginable against the Government.

Indep. Not to Justifie them in their Clamour ; I must yet recommend their Departure, as a fair Testimony that they withdrew upon Conscience. For by this Secession, they put themselves out of Condition to carry on a Faction : Whereas The *Presbyterians*, that had a further Design in Prospect, stood their Ground, watch'd their Advantages, and gain'd their End.

Presb. All this is but Talk, without Proof.

Indep. It will be granted, I suppose, that the *Scottish Tumults* in 1637. and

the *Rebellion* upon the neck of them, in 1638. were advanc'd upon a *Presbyterian* accompt: and consequently, that Those were of the same Leven, that Voted them *Good Subjects*, and *Money* for their peins, and Adopted them their *DEAR BROTHEREN*, for so doing.

Were not the *Principals* of the Faction in the *Long Parliament*, every Man of them *Presbyterian*? Were not the *Army*, and *Assembly*, *Presbyterian*; And all their *Votes*, *Actions*, and *Conclusions* Influenc'd accordingly? Who were they that Invited the *Scots* into *England* the Second time; (Nov. 7. 1642.) That Impos'd the *Covenant*; Prosecuted the *War*, under the Countenance of it; and made it the Test of Discrimination, betwixt the *Malignant*, and *Well affected Parties*: That Settled the *Directory*, Nay the *Presbytery* it self? Were not These, *Presbyterians*?

Ex Coll.
P. 737.

Who were they, but *Presbyterians*, that Stripp't the King of his *Regalities*, and *Revenues*; Commission'd an *Army* against him; Fought him, Pursu'd him; and in fine, brought him to utter *Ruine*?

Presb. You will find the Late King of another Opinion, in his Grand Declaration, of Aug. 12. 1642. where he complains of the *Tumultuous Assemblies* of

Toleration Discuss'd. 275

of Brownists, Anabaptists, and other Sectaries. Ex. Coll. P. 532.

Indep. But still you will find in the same Page, that These very People were Animated, and Countenanced, by Presbyterians; and Acted, as the Creatures, and Servants, of That Interest.

Presb. Can you say that the English, Interest of Engl. P. 44.
or Scottish Presbyters did ever go about to Dissolve Monarchy?

Indep. Yes: And I do aver, that the Nineteen Propositions of June 2. 1642. Ex. Coll. P. 307.
were as much a Dissolution of Kingly Government, as the very Act it self (of March 17. 1648.) for Abolishing it. Scobel's Acts, Part 2. p. 7.
And the Uxbridge Propositions were to the same purpose.

Presb. You know very well, that after the New-Modelling of the Army, the Presbyterians were able to do nothing; and this was a good while before the King went to the Scots.

Indep. Let us see then how the Presbyterians behaved themselves, after his Majesty cast himself into the Protection of the Scotch Army before Newark, in May, 1646.

Notice was Immediately given of it, to the Two Houses, by the Commissioners of the Army; Importing their Adherence

to the *Covenant*, and *Treaty*; and that they had no fore-knowledge of his Majesties Coming. The *English Army* presently March'd with 5000 *Horse*, and *Dragoons*, toward *Newark*; and our *Brethren* fairly retreated with the Prey in the Foot toward *Newcastle*. After This, Both Parties stood at Gaze for several Months; but not without a World of Tedious Papers, betwixt the *Scotch Commissioners*, and the *Two Houses*, touching their Joynt Right in Disposing of the Person of the King. But in the Conclusion, The *Presbyterians* Compounded the Controversie for the Sum of 400000 *l*. In *May* they took their *Sovereign* into their Protection; In the *December* following, they Sold him; and in *February* they Deliver'd him up; And All This, According to their COVENANT.

Presb. They must needs Deliver him up, when they could Keep him no longer.

Indep. They had at that time the City of *London* to Friend; a Balancing Vote in the *House of Commons*; a Considerable Mixture in the *Army*; *Scotland* behind them; (Entire, if ever the Kings Interest came in Play) And at least Ten Thousand Men in a Body. (The *Royal Party* over- and

and above.) So that here was no visible Force to over-awe them : And London himself acknowledged as much, at a Conference (Octob. 6. 1646.) If any such Course shall be taken (says he) or any Demand made for Rendring of his Person, which cannot stand with his Honour, and Safety ; or which cannot consist with our Duty, Allegiance, and COVENANT; nor with the Honour of That Army, to whom (in time of his Extreme Danger) he had his Recourse for Safety: It cannot be Expected that we can be Capable of SO BASE A N A C T: And if (to shun this, and avoid occasion of Quarrelling between the Kingdoms) He shall go to Scotland, and resent his Expulsion out of England ; and crave the Assistance of That Kingdom for Recovery of his Right to This Crown: He may in a short time, raise such Forces in Scotland, and Ireland, as with the Assistance of Forreign Princes, these Kingdoms may be made a Field of Blood, &c.

By This, it appears Evidently, that They were under no Necessity of Delivering the King : And you may now see their Opinion of the Action it self. [If it be Contrary (say the Scotch Commissioners) to the Law, and Common Practise of Nations,

Answer to the Vote of Sept. 24. 1646.

Toleration Discuss'd.

Nations, to Deliver up the meanest Subject fled to them, though it be for the Greatest Crimes; How much more would the World abroad condemn our Army, for a BASE, DISHONOURABLE Act, if they should Deliver up their Head, and SOVEREIGN, (having cast himself into their Hands) to be Disposed of at the Arbitrament of another Nation!

Presb. But yet you saw that they Condition'd for his Honour, Freedom, and Safety.

Indep. That's a Shuffle: For upon such Terms did they render him, that they might have cast a *Sheep* into a Herd of *Wolves*, with as much Confidence, and Likelihood of Safety. You are here to distinguish the *Faction* of Scotland, from the *Nation*: No Country affording greater Instances of *Honour*, and *Loyalty*. Nay, I have heard (even on This Occasion) that upon the Kings Earnest Desire to go for Scotland, It was carried in the *Negative* but by *Two Voices*.

Presb. Can you Imagine, that if they had apprehended any Danger to his Royal Person, they would not have ventur'd their Lives a thousand times over, to have sav'd him?

Indep.

Indep. No, no : But on the Contrary ; They *foresaw* the Danger , *debated* it ; and yet *expos'd* him : Nay , which is still worse , they *reserv'd* him for it. Were not his Majesties Friends kept from him , by a strict Order , at *Newcastle* ? Was he not *Spied* , and *Guarded* , for fear of an *Escape* ? And upon Information , that He intended one , Was not a *narrower Watch* set over him ?

That they foresaw the Danger , is confess'd by the *Chancellor* Himself. *Lest we should walk in the Dark* , (says he) *upon Obscurity of Ambiguous Words* , I shall desire that the Word of *Disposing of the Kings Person* , may be rightly understood. For *Dolus versatur in Universalibus*. For to Dispose of the Person of the King , as *Both Houses* , or *Both Kingdoms* shall think fit , may in some sense be to *DEPOSE* , or *WORSE*. And in a Speech to his Majesty , he goes yet further. *If your Majesty* (says he) *shall refuse to assent to the Propositions ; (which God forbid) you will lose all your Friends , lose the City , and the Country ; and All England will joyn against you as one Man : And (when all hope of Reconciliation is past) it is to be feared they will Process , and Depose you , and set up another Government.*

vernment. Upon your Majesties refusing the Propositions, both Kingdoms will be Constrained (for their mutual Safety) to Agree, and Settle Religion, and Peace without you: which (to our unspeakable Grief) will ruine your Majesty, and your Posterity. And if your Majesty reject our Faithful Advice, and lose England by your Willfulness, your Majesty will not be permitted to come and ruine Scotland.

Presb. These Propositions, I suppose, were of Absolute Necessity to the Well-Being of the Publique; they would never have been brought in Competition else with the Kings Freedom, Life, and Dignity.

Indep. The King was first, to Justifie the Proceedings of the Two Houses, and to deliver up to Death, Beggerly, and Infamy his Whole Party.

2. To Settle the Militia of England, and Ireland, in the Hands of the Parliament, for Twenty Years; giving them Authority to raise Men, and Moneys.

3. To make void all Honours since 1642; and no Peers admitted for the future, to Sit and Vote in Parliament, but by Consent of Both Houses: who were likewise To dispose of all Great Places, and Offices of Honour, in England, and Ireland.

4. His

4. *His Majesty was to Swear, and Sign the COVENANT, and Command the taking of it throughout the Three Kingdoms; Abolishing Episcopacy, and Settling Religion as Both Houses Should Agree.*

Upon his Majesties Refusal to Sign These Propositions, the *Scotch Declaration of Jan. 16. 1646.* tells us, That *there would be a Joynt Course taken by Both Kingdoms* concerning the Disposal of His Majesties Person.—*With Respect had to the Safety, and Preservation of his Royal Person, IN THE PRESERVATION, AND DEFENCE OF THE TRUE RELIGION, AND LIBERTIES OF THE KINGDOMS—According to the COVENANT.* And According to the COVENANT, His Majesties Person was Disposed of.

Presb. And do you believe that the *Two Houses* would have used the King any better, if he had gone to Them?

They made it *Treason* Immediately, and *Death without Mercy*, for any Man to Harbour, and Conceal the Kings Person; upon a Supposition, that his Majesty was then in London. This was the fourth of May; and on the sixth, The Commons Voted him to *Warwick*

wick Castle; which was Unbeted again upon the ninth. In June, the Kings going to the Scots, was Voted *A Design to Prolong the War*. And this was as much the Action of the *Independents*, as the Other was of the *Presbyterians*.

Indep. Pardon me there, I beseech ye. You see by the Voting *Back* and *Forward*, that the House of Commons was upon a hard Tug, but the *Scottish Party* was totally *Presbyterian*.

But will you hear the *Kirk* speak for it self, after the putting of the King into *English Hands*? *They Exhort their COVENANTED BRETHREN*, (the Assembly at *Westminster*) *to hold fast their Solemn League and Covenant: to entertain a Brotherhood, and Unity between the Nations*, (Feb. 12. 1646.) (but not a Syllable of the King) Again, (June 18. 1647.) *The General Assembly of the Kirk, presses the Two Houses to a speedy Establishment of the Presbytery*: (but not a Word again of his Majesty.) And in truth, their *Silence* is a Favour, considering how they order him, when they speak of him: As you may observe in a Resolve of theirs, upon a Question Debated at *Edinburgh*.

If the King be Excluded from Government in England, for not Granting the Propositions concerning Religion, and the Covenant; and for not giving a Satisfactory Answer to the Remanent Propositions: Whether in That Case it be Lawful for this Kingdom to assist him, for the Recovery of the Government, or whether it be not Lawful?

Being put to it, We cannot but Answer, in regard of the Engagement of This Kingdom, by Covenant, and Treaty, N E G A T I V E.



Resolved upon the Question,

1. *That the Kingdom of Scotland, shall be Governed as it hath been these last Five Years; All Means being used, that the King might take the Covenant, and Pass the Propositions.*

2. *That the taking of the Scots Covenant, and Passing some of the Propositions, doth not give Warrant to assist him against England.*

3. *That upon bare taking the National Covenant, we may not receive him.*

4. *That the Clause in the Covenant, for Defence of the Kings Person, is to be understood, in Defence, and Safety of the Kingdoms.*

5. *That*

5. *That the King shall not Execute any Power in the Kingdom of Scotland, until such time that he hath Granted the Propositions concerning Religion, and the Covenant; and given a Satisfactory Answer to Both Kingdoms in the rest of the Propositions, presented to him by both Kingdoms at Newcastle.*

6. *That if his Majesty refuse to Pass the Propositions, he shall be disposed of according to the COVENANT, and Treaty.*

7. *That the Union be firmly kept between the Kingdoms, according to the Covenant, and the Treaties.*

Here's *PRESBYTERIAN LOYALTY*: If the King would have consented to give up his Crown; Blast his Conscience; Betray his Trust, and Sacrifice his Friends; he might perchance have been allow'd the Pageantry of a Court, and some Mock-Properties of Royalty: but upon other Terms, the Kirk you see gives him no Quarter.

The King is now under the Care of his new Governours; Holdenby is his Prison; The Question is Matter of Church-Government; and his Majesty is prest to an

Al-

Alteration. Some Two Months are spent in the fruitless Desires, and Expectations of his *Chaplains*, for his Advice, and Comfort: and any *Two* (of *Twelve* in Nomination) would satisfy his Majesty. But *That could not be*; (they said) No, *not a Common-Prayer-Book* for his own *Private Use*. These were the *Presbyterians* still.

Upon the fourth of *June 1647*. *Cornet Joyce*, with a Party of Horse took the King from *Holdenby*; under colour of preventing other Secret Designs upon the Person of his Majesty. The next day, at a *Rendezvous* near *Newmarket*, was Read, and Signed The *Armies ENGAGEMENT*: compleining of the *Two Houses*, and in particular, of a Vote they had Past for *Disbanding* the *Army*. (Where Note, that the *Houses* were still *Presbyterian*) The Sum of their *ENGAGEMENT* was: That *they would Disband, upon full Satisfaction received, and not without it*. This *Liberty* was menag'd all this while, with much Formality of *Duty*, and *Respect*: The *Houses* at every Turn advertis'd concerning the *King's Motions*: and (*June* the 9th) consulted how further to Dispose of his Majesty. Some Three days after, the Army drew toward
London,

London, and *Alarm'd the City*: (contrary to an Express Order of the *Houses*, the very day before) A Months Pay was their Errand, and to save Carriage, they made a step from *Royston* to *St. Albans* to receive it.

On *June the 15*, out comes a Terrible Representation, with *Desires* from the *Army*, Against all *Arbitrary Powers*, and *Interests* whatsoever: Pleading the *Presbyterian Presidents*, and the *Principles* of the *Two Houses* in their Justification.

The Parliament (say they) hath Declar'd it no *Resisting of Magistracy*, to side with the *Just Principles*, and *Law* of *Nature*, and *Nations*; (being That Law upon which we have assisted you) and that the *Souldiery* may Lawfully hold the *Hands* of the *General*, who will turn his *Cannon* upon his *Army*, on purpose to destroy them. They Demanded, *The Purging of the Houses*; and *Retrenching the Power of Committees*; *An Account for Publique Moneys*; *A Period of the Present Session*, and *Limits for the Future, &c.*

It could not chuse but Gall the *Two Houses*, to see their *Throats* cut with their own *Weapons*: but still they kept up their *Greatness of Pretense*, and
Stile;

Stile ; and by an *Order as Imperative* as ever , they commanded the Placing of his Majesty at *Richmond* ; in Order to a *Treaty*, forsooth, for a *Safe, and Well-grounded Peace*, But the Army had another Game to Play ; However, what the *Presbyterians* would have done upon that Occasion, may be seen in what they did afterward, at the *Isle of Wight*, in his Majesties last Distress, and Extremity.

Presb. You are willing, I find, to pass over the Barbarism of the *Independents* toward his Majesty, while they had him at *Hampton-Court* ; but there is enough yet behind, to make That Faction Odious to all Eternity.

Indep. Truly no : but I would not spin out a *Debate* to the length of a *History*. As to the *Barbarisms* you speak of, let his Majesty Himself be heard.

Colonel Whaley, *I have been so civilly used by You, and Major Huntington, that I cannot but by this parting Farewell, acknowledge it under my Hand.* Nov. 11. 1647. And again ; from *Carisbrook Castle* to the General, Nov. 27. 1647.

The Free Liberty which you willingly afforded us to have of the Use of our Own Chaplains, makes us at this time not only

to Acknowledge your Former Civilities, but, &c. So that His Majesties Condition appears to have been somewhat more easie at *Hampton-Court*, then before it was at *Holdenby*. Nay, most certain it is, that the *Presbyterians*, even at That very Time, did the Deadly Thing that brought the King to the *Scaffold*.

Presb. How could That be; when the Two Houses, by *Purging*, and *Modelling*, were Subjected Absolutely to the Devotion of the *Army*?

Indep. Thus they did it. His Majesty was at That time, upon fair Terms with *Cromwel*, and *Ireton*; and not without large hopes of a Final Accommodation. (The Author of *The History of Independency*, (Pa. 35.) is positive, as to *their Treating with the King*) While This was in Agitation, the *Presbyterians* were at work on the other hand, to break the King's Confidence in the *Army*; by Imputations of *Treachery*, and *Levity*: to divert his Majesty to the Seeking of Relief elsewhere; with particular Undertakings of great Matters from *Scotland*, and the City of *London*. This way of Tampering might very well put the King to a stand: which *Cromwel* no sooner perceived, but he Immediately betook him-

himself to a Course of Extremity : Irritated (over and above, as is credibly affirmed) by an Advice from *Argyle*, in confirmation of his Jealousie.

His Majesties next Remove was to the *Isle of Wight* : Where, for Ceremonies sake, he was presented with *Four Bills* ; and upon his Refusal to pass them, followed the Vote of *NON-ADDRESSSES*. In Passing these Bills, His Majesty had not only divested *Himself*, and His *Successors*, of all *Sovereignty* ; but Subjected his People to the *Basest*, and most *Absolute Tyranny* that ever was Exercis'd upon Mortals.

Presb. You will not call This the Act of the *Presbyterians*, I hope.

Indep. No, I will not : But yet I must tell you, that the *Presbyterians*, upon this Juncture, did every jot as much as this Amounts to.

So soon as the *Parliament of Scotland* was thoroughly Inform'd of the Distress, and Danger of the King's Condition, the Matter was presently Debated ; and a Resolution taken to Raise an Army for his Majesties Relief. In which Proceeding, they were violently opposed by the *General Assembly*, without any regard at all to the King's Life, at that time in Question.

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See *The Humble Desires of the Commissioners of the General Assembly to the Parliament, Pag. 13.* (*We desire that his Majesties late Concessions, and Offers concerning Religion, as they have been by the Church, so may be by the Parliament declared UNSATISFACTORY.* (March 22. 1648.) And afterward:

Ibid. p. 60. (Jan. 10. 1648.) *That his Majesties late Concessions, and Offers concerning Religion, may by your Lordships, DIRECTLY, and POSITIVELY, be Declared UNSATISFACTORY to this present Parliament. And that there shall be no Engagement for Restoring his Majesty to one of his Houses, with Honour, Freedom, and Safety, before Security, and Assurance be had from his Majesty, by his Solemn OATH, under his HAND, and SEAL, that he shall for HIMSELF, and his SUCCESSORS, Consent, and Agree to Acts of Parliament, enjoying the League and Covenant, and fully Establishing Presbyterian Government, Directory of Worship, and Confession of Faith in all his Majesties Dominions: and that his Majesty shall never make Opposition to any of these, or endeavour any Change thereof.*

This is Rivetted with a Mischief. And
pray'e

pray'e shew me now the Material Difference, between Precluding His Majesty by a Vote of *NO ADDRESS*, or by a Resolution of *NO AGREEMENT*: His *Honour*, and *Conscience* being equally at Stake on either side.

To give you the Sum of all in short. The *Presbyterians* began the War; *Pursu'd* it; made the *King* a *Prisoner*; *Sold* him; and in the Depth of his Calamity, presented him with *Temptation*, instead of *Comfort*. No *Composition* would be heard of, but the *Forfeiture* of his *SOUL*, for the *Saving* of his *LIFE*.

Presb. But the *Independents* boweever, *Crown'd* the *Wickedness* with his *Blood*.

Indep. Suppose it so: They did only *Execute* the Sentence, but the *Presbyterians* Pronounc'd it. Neither did they *Execute* it, as *Independents*; or under colour of any Impulse of *Religion*, or *Conscience*, but upon *Civil*, and *Political* *Pretexts*. He was *adjudged to be put to Death as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and Publique Enemy*: Not for Refusing to Enter into a *Church-Covenant*, or Establish *Liberty of Conscience*; but upon a *Pestilent Motive of Diabolical Policy, and State*. Whereas, the *Presbyterians* per-

secuted him as *PRESBYTERIANS*; and depriv'd him of his *Royal Support, Dignity, Friends, Freedom*, (in Effect) *Life* and all, because he would not renounce his *Reason*, and *Conscience*, in favour of their *Government*. And I am verily perswaded, that you will have as little to say for your *Principles*, as for your *Actions*.

S E C T. XXVI.

What Party soever DEMANDS a Toleration, and yet Mainteins, that It is Destructive both of Church, and State, to GRANT one, Is an ENEMY to BOTH.

Indep. **A**S to the Point in Question; It lies Naturally before us to speak first to the Thing, in it *self*; and we may afterward consider it in the *Consequences*.

In the Desire of a *Toleration*, the *Independents* ask no more than they would be ready to Allow; I wish the *Presbyterians* could say the like.

Presb. In the large sense of Allow-
ing

ing all sorts of *Libertines*, and *Heretiques*, as the late *Independent Government* did, I do confess you have out-done the *Presbyterians*.

Indep. And yet Those very *Libertines*, and *Heretiques*, were Your *White-Boys*, and *Favourites*, so long as they serv'd Your *Ends*. They had none of this Language from you, when they Tumulted against *Bishops*, and *Common-Prayer*; *Ceremonies*, and *Popish Lords*. While they were the Instruments of Your *Ambition*, they were the *Godly*, *Well-affected Party*: So that *Heretiques*, it seems, will down well enough with your *Politiques*, though not with your *Consciences*: Provided they will content themselves to be *Damn'd*, and let the *Presbyterians* alone to *Govern*.

Presb. The *Independents* made sweet work in *Holland*, did they not? And where was your *Spirit of Toleration*, and *Forbearance*, I beseech you, in *New-England*?

Indep. You cannot say that we gave any Trouble in *Holland* to the *State*; or that we fell foul there upon *Different Judgments*. In *New England*, 'tis true, we excluded the *Gortonists*, *Familists*, *Seekers*, *Antinomians*, *Anabaptists*; and Subjected them to the Censure of the Ci-

vil Power, as People of Dangerous Principles, in Respect both of *Good Life*, and *Government*. Which Proceeding of ours methinks might serve to disabuse those that call *Independency* the *Genus Generalissimum* of all *Errours*, *Heresies*, *Blasphemies*, and *Schisms*: and take the *Church way* of *New-England*, for that sort of *Independency*. They did also exclude *Papacy*, and *Prelacy*; The Latter, perchance, more out of Regard to a *Temporary Convenience*, then upon any rooted Principle of *Implacable Severity*. And I perswade my self, the *Episcopal Party* will witness thus much on our Behalfs; that as to the Freedom of their *Meetings*, and way of *Worship*, in the late *Revolutions*, they had much better Quarter from the *Independents*, then ever they had from the *Presbyterians*: There was no *Persecuting* of Men for *Covenants*, and *Directories*: So that Thus far, the *Independents* have made their *Professions* of *Liberty* good, by their *Practise*.

Presb. And are not the *Classical Presbyterians* as much for a *Lawful Liberty*, Old Non- as the *Congregationals*? [Let there be a
Conf. p. 41. Toleration in Religion, excepting to Blasphemy, Treason, or Gross Errours.]
Bear with the Weak; Tolerate the Tolerable,

lerable, and for the Intolerable, we beg not your Toleration. Here's the Sense and Desire of the Presbyterian Divines that were Commission'd about the Review of the Service-Book.

Petit. for
Peace, p.
20.

Indep. This is only a New Song, to an Old Tune. The Presbyterians have just the same need of the Independents at this day, that they had some nine and twenty Years ago. The Author of *The Discourse of Religion* has many good Remarques upon the Papists, that may be very well applied to the Presbyterians; and This for One. [Things past (says he) may afford Par. 1. p. 6. Prognostiques of things to come. So that we are to gather what you intend now, from what you did, after saying the same things before. Or if you had rather come to a Tryal, upon the Evidence of your own Manifestos, and Declarations, then upon the History of your Practises; I shall make use of no other Testimony against you.

The Presbyterians press the Demand of a Toleration, as a very reasonable Request; and yet they Themselves have pronounc'd Judgment against it, as a thing against Conscience, Destructive of Publique Order both in Church, and State, and of the Peace of Common Society.

Gangrana
Part 3. P.
282.
Ibid. 303.



Toleration (says Mr. Edwards) cannot be Condescended to, without a Breach of Oath, and Covenant. [It is the Depth of Satan, this Design of a Toleration. He does not move for a Toleration of Heresies, and Gross Errours; but an Allowance of a LATITUDE in some LESSER DIFFERENCES with Peaceableness. This is Candidus ille Diabolus, That White Devil, &c. The London Ministers Letter to the Assembly, in 1645. declares it Repugnant to the Solemn League and Covenant. The Commissioners of the Kirk of Scotland, do Protest, and Declare against it, as Inconsistent with, and Repugnant to the Word of God.

Rutherf.
Free Disp.
P. 267.

Gangrana,
P. 293.

Free Disp.
P. 98.

As to the Influence of a Toleration upon Church, and State; Mr. Edwards tells us, that The Party Tolerated will never rest Working, till they get the upper hand, and Suppress the Other. Rutherford is positive, that such Opinions, and Practises as make an Evident Schism in a Church, and set up two Distinct Churches, of Different Forms, and Government, are NOT to be Tolerated. For by their Principles they labour, each the Destruction of the other; and this Toleration destroys Peace, and Unity. Again, The London Ministers are of Opinion, that it will produce
canstest,

causeless, and unjust Revolts from the Ministry, and Congregations. The Peoples Minds will be Troubled, and in Danger to be Subverted. Heart-burnings will be Fomented, and Perpetuated to Posterity. The Godly, Painsful, and Orthodox Ministers will be Discouraged, and Despis'd. The Life and Power of Godliness will be eaten up by Frivolous Disputes, and Janglings. And the whole Church of England, in short time, will be swallowed up with Distraction, and Confusion. The Kingdom will be wofully weakned also, by Scandals, and Divisions: The Power of the Magistrate will not be only weakned, but utterly overthrown, by the Anti-Magistratical Principles, and Practises of the Independents: And the whole Course of Religion in Private Families, will be interrupted, and undermined.

Not to multiply Authorities more then necessary, This has been the strein of all your Proceedings: Imperiously, and Inexorably Strict, and Rigorous in Imposing upon Others; and as Shamelessly Importune, and Clamorous for Liberty to Your selves. But what have I more to do, then to pass Sentence upon you, out of your own Mouths? You cannot in Conscience desire a Toleration, if you understand it to be
be

be Against Conscience to Grant it. And the very Asking of That which you believe would draw a Destruction upon Church and State, is Ground enough for a strong Presumption that you Intend it.

Presb. That which was a Reasonable Cause of Refusal, from the Presbyterians to the Independents, will not hold good from the Church of England to the Presbyterians: Either in respect of the Stability of our Government, or of the Sobriety of our Principles.

S E C T. XXVII.

In Case of a Toleration, or Indulgence to be Granted, Whether has the fairer Pretense to it; The CLASSICAL Way of the PRESBYTERIANS, or the CONGREGATIONAL Way of the INDEPENDENTS; in Respect of their Form of Government.

*Indep. T*He Presbyterians (you say) are rather to be Tolerated than the Independents, in regard of the Stability of their Government, and the Sobriety of their Principles. To speak in this

this Place to the Matter of their *Government*; I think your *Argument* is very ill grounded. For in *Deliberations* of this Nature, the *Cautions* that occur to all *Magistrates* are chiefly These Two. *First*, in case of an *Indulgence*, that it may be placed upon a Party, which in *Probability*, would not disturb the *Publique* if they could; But *Secondly*, to make sure however, (for fear of the worst) that they shall not be able to do it, if they would. So that whether a *Stable*, and *United*, or a *Loose*, and *Distracted Interest* may with more *Security* be *Indulged*, is the *Question*.

Presb. You may as well ask, whether *Order*, or *Confusion* be more *Tolerable* in a *Government*.

Indep. That *Order* which is *Necessary* in the *Government* it self, is *Dangerous* in the *Enemies* of it. But deliver your *Exceptions* to the *Toleration* of those which you call *Independents*, in *Regard* of their way of *Government*.

Presb. You have already, in a good part, sav'd me that *Labour*. But a *Man* shall not need to go further for an *Exception*, then to the very *Denomination* of them; which Imports an *Exemption* from all *Jurisdiction*, both *Ecclesiastical*, and *Civil*.

Indep.

Indep. But what will become of That Exception, when I shall tell you, that those People are no more *Independent*, then the *Presbyterians*? [*We depend upon* **Cotton's** *the Magistrate for Civil Government, and* **Way, p. 11.** *Protection; and upon Christ, and his Word, for the Rule of our Administrations.* Nay, we insist upon it, that the Congregational *Way, is the only true, Original* **Burton's** *Presbytery, which is Peculiar to every* **Wind, p. 18** *Particular Church of Christ.* But if you call us *Independent*, as in distinction to *Subordinate*, we are not only ready, as such *Independents*, to defend our selves; but by virtue of That very *Independency*, we pretend to claim an Advantage over the *Presbyterians*.

Presb. I could tell ye of your *Church-Covenants, and Defensive Leagues, against the Commands of Authority.*

Indep. But I could speak homer to you, of your *National Leagues and Covenants*; which all the World knows, are the grand Engines to disjoynt Communities, and remove the Foundations of Government. And I do not much wonder at it, where *the Act of a General Assembly, Influences the Consciences of a whole Nation.* As to any *Covenants, and Leagues against the Magistrate*; neither do the *Independents*

dents practise them, nor would they stand them in any stead, if they had a mind to play the Villeins; for want of an Orderly Dependence, to unite, and to oblige them.

Presb. And for That Reason, you Imagine, the *Independents* may be better Tolerated, then the *Presbyterians*.

Indep. Truly for That Main Reason, with Twenty Great ones more in the Belly of it.

It were a wild thing for a Man to apprehend any danger to a Government, from a Faction that is Divided, and Distracted within it self; and without any Common Tye of Agreement to Unite it. And This do I take to be the Condition of the *Independents*, (which for Discourse sake, we will suppose to be a *Faction*.) Their *Congregations* are generally small; The Members of them, gather'd up here and there, and so Scattered, and Intermix'd with People of other Perswasions, that they have neither Opportunity, nor Encouragement to joyn in a Conspiracy. Besides that in Respect of their *Church-Parity*, they want that ordinary Medium of Superiority, and Subjection, to link them together in a Combination, upon the Point of *Common Interest*. Another Difficulty

Difficulty will arise from the *Affections* of the Pastors themselves; who are not without their touches of *Disgust*, and *Emulation*, to see themselves either *Out-vied*, or *Deserted*: the *One*, by Fuller Congregations; and the *Other*, by the Removal of their Members from one Church to another.

Presb. If I am not mistaken, you have provided against the Inconvenience of Breaking in One upon Another; by an Obligation at your Entrance into any Church, not to forsake it without Leave. But proceed.

Indep. There remains yet behind, another Obstacle, equal to all the rest: Which is; that the *Independents* have no Men that are Eminent for *Popularity*, *Interest*, *Great Fortunes*, and *Abilities*, to head them. Now how it is possible for a Party under all these Disadvantages, to work any Mischief to the State, I am not wise enough to imagine. If you object, that the late *Independent Government* had many Persons at the Helm, that were qualified with these Circumstances. I must Answer you, that whatever they were, they did not set up Originally for *Independency*.

Presb. So that upon the Result, to
save

save your Party from Appearing Dangerous, you have made it Contemptible. And your Argument would have run very well in These Words. *The Independents may better be Tolerated than the Presbyterians: for no Body that has either Brains, or Reputation, will own Independency.*

Indep. As an Interest (you should have said) *whereupon to work any Change of Government.* (And this would have been point-blank to the Question, and your Period never the worse for't.)

Now if my Reason be good on the behalf of the *Independents*, that They may be *Tolerated* without any Risque to the Commonwealth, upon the Considerations before mentioned: It will hold as good against the *Presbyterians*; because of the very Contrary Circumstances in their Government, and Case. That is to say, They are at great *Agreement* in the Orderly Reduction, and Connexion of their *Polity*; and they have commonly found *Great Friends* to uphold them in their Pretenses.

My first Exception to *Presbytery* is, that it is a *National Church-Government*. And Methinks *Two National Church-Governments* in the same Kingdom, looks like a
Sharing

Toleration Discuss'd.

Sharing of the Sovereignty, and the setting up of Christs Vicar against Gods Vicegerent. And what will the People say in the Matter, but either that the Government thinks them in the *Right*, or else that 'tis *affraid* of them? The *former* Supposition draws the *Simple* into the Party upon *Conscience*; and the *Latter* engages the *Crafty* upon *Interest*.

To take it now in the *Constitutive Parts* of it; The Scale of the *Presbytery* rises Thus: From *Parochial* Inspection, to *Classical*; from *Classical* to *Provincial*; and from *Provincial*, to *National*: Which *Extensive Latitude*, and *Comprehension*, does plainly discover, that there was a *Design of Sole, and Sovereign Dominion* in the very *Institution* of the *Discipline*.

To say nothing in this Place of the *Absolute*, and *Independent Authority* Claimed, and Exercised by the *General Assembly*; I shall only observe this to you: That they have the best *Security* in the *World*, for their *Subjects Obedience* to all their *Acts*, and *Conclusions* whatsoever. For *Life, Fortune, Soul*, and all lies at *Stake*: They *Fine, Punish, Degrade, Excommunicate* at *Pleasure*. And this is the *True Reason*, that from time to time, the *Presbyterial Discipline* has had

had the Countenance of so many Popular *Advocates*, and Abettors. For certainly, it is the best Foundation for an Alteration of State, that ever was yet laid upon the Face of the Earth; and their Work is three quarters done to their hand, in the very Disposition of the *Model*.

Only one Observation more; and I have done. And That is, The Provident Commixture of *Laity*, and *Clergy* in all their Counsels; *These* to Attaque the *Church*, the *Other*, the *State*; by which means, they may the more commodiously carry on *Schism*, and *Sedition* in their proper Seasons: and leave a Door of Preferment, and Advantage, open to all Comers.

I will not say yet, that it is *absolutely Impossible* for a *Protestant Monarchy*, and this *Double-refin'd Presbytery* to prosper in the same Soil: But if I had Money in my Pocket, I would not give any Prince in Christendom above Eighteen Months Purchase for his Crown, that should put it to the Venture. For he has nothing in the World to trust to, but Miracles: The *Gratitude*, *Faith*, *Good Nature*, and *Pure Integrity* of the *Party*.

S E C T. XXVIII.

Whether may be better Tolerated in This Kingdom, The Presbyterians, or the Independents; in Respect of their
PRINCIPLES, and Ordinary PROCEEDINGS.

Debated, First, With Relation to his Majesties **PERSON, and AUTHORITY.**

Indep. **T**HE Government of England is *Monarchique*; but so attemper'd with *Legal Provisions* for the *Comfort, and Benefit* of the *People*, that every *Englishman* has his *Interest* in the *Preservation* of the *Law*; as That which *Intitles* him to the *Free Enjoyment* of his *Life and Fortune*: So that we are to frame our *Discourse* with a *Regard* to His *Majesties* **P E R S O N**, and *Royal* **A U T H O R I T Y**; The *Foundation*, and *Execution* of the **L A W**; The *Rights*, and *Just Liberties* of the **P E O P L E**: Utterly excluding from the *Limits* of Our *Toleration*, all *Power* or *Pretense* whatsoever, that shall presume to *Usurp* upon
 any

any of These Particulars. Now to begin with the *First*.

What do you find in the *Independent Way*, that may endanger his Majesty, either in his *Person*, or in his *Prerogative*?

Presb. The Princes of Germany would Answer you, that your Proceedings are *Sanguinary*, and *Violent*: not only against your *Actual Opposers*, but against the very *Ordinance of Magistracy* it self.

Indep. What are the Furies of the *Anabaptists* to us, that have Declared against them, as well as *You*? But if you can fasten upon those of the *Congregational Way*, any *Antimonarchical Opinions*, or *Practises*, which are either wrap't up in the Bowels of That Profession, or naturally Issuing from thence: and make good your Assertion, by proving what you say, to have been the Formal Act of any *One* of our Churches by it self, or *More* of them in *Combination*, I will never open my Mouth after it, in a Plea for the *Independents*.

Presb. It were a hard matter indeed to fasten any thing upon the *Principles* of a *Party*, that professes to have no *Principles*, but still refers it self to the *Guidance of a Further Light*.

Indep. And yet you can *blame* us for our *Principles*, though by your own *Confession*; you know not What they are. Now for the *Reserve* of Acting according to a *Further Light*; It is exprest, in the *Ordinary Form* of our *Church Covenant*, that *it is to be reach'd unto us out of the Word*; which most assuredly will not lead us into any Evil.

If this be all you have to say against the *Independents*, I would gladly hear what Defence you are able to make for the *Presbyterians*: Either *Simply*, and in *Themselves*; or else *Comparatively* with any other sort of People. Nay, I should not much care if you took the *Jesuits* *Themselves* for your *Foil*.

Presb. How can you say This? Con-
 sidering, [that Thundring of Excommu-
 Disc of nication, which has sounded in all
 Relig. Part Ages, since the beginning of the Papal
 1. p 3. Reign, against Kings, Emperours, &c.
 Ibid. p. 4. And These Practises Justified by their De-
 cretals, and Canons; Divines of great-
 est Authority, and some of their Coun-
 cils: Ascribing to the Pope a Power of
 Deposing Princes that are Heretical,
 or Favourers of Heretiques. The Je-
 suits Doctrine of KING-KILLING
 hath made them Odious, &c.

Indep.

Indep. Do you tell us of *PAPAL-EXCOMMUNICATIONS*; justified by *Canons, Divines, Councils*; *DEPOSING* of *Kings* for *Heretic*; and the *Jesuits Doctrine* of *KING-KILLING, &c?* The *Disciple* should speak Reverently of his *Master*: for I assure you, a *Jesuits Cloak* fits exceedingly well upon the *Shoulders* of a *Presbyterian*.

To Discipline, must all the *States Scotch* Discipline, p. within the *Realm* be *Subject*, as well the *Rulers*, as the *Ruled*. (According to the 59. *Discipline of the Kirk of Scotland*, Printed in *London, 1647*.)

The *Person of the Magistrate* ought Ibid. p. 78. to be *Subject to the Kirk*, Spiritually, and in *ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT*: Submitting himself to the *Discipline of the Kirk*, if he *Transgress* in *Matters of Conscience*, and *Religion*. *Beza, Buchanan*, (and in truth, the whole *Brotherhood*) are for the *Excommunication of Princes*: So that there's *Presbyterial EXCOMMUNICATION* you see, as well as *Papal*. P. 79.

And in Case of *Superstition*, and *Idolatry*, the *Presbyter* can *DEPOSE* too, as well as the *Pope*, in Case of *Heretic*. Was not the *Queen-Regent in Scotland (1559.)* Deposed, upon the *Encourage-*

Hist. of
Reform.
Printed
1644. p.
195.
Spotsw.
Hist. p. 418

ment, and with the Approbation of *Willock, Knox*, and their Fellows? As *not doing her Duty to the Subjects*; and as a *vehement Maintainer of Superstition, and Idolatry*? Did not the *Commissioners of the Kirk* (in 1596.) threaten an *Open Protestation* against *King James*; and his *Council*, in Case of either *Pardoning*, or *Restoring the Popish Lords* that were at that time under *Banishment*?

As to the *Jesuits Doctrine of KING-KILLING*; We are able not only to *Match*, but to *Out-doe* it, out of the *School of the Consistory*. There is no doubt but the *Jesuits* are *Guilty of Delivering Doctrine* that naturally leads to *King-Killing Conclusions*. But do ye find that ever they said in plain Terms; *It is Lawful for Subjects to take up Arms against their Sovereign, in Case of Religion*; Or that ever they *Publicly Applauded the Murder of a Prince, after the Fact was Committed*? Certainly, in this Particular, the *Consistorian Copy* goes beyond the *Papal Original*.

Upon a dangerous Uproar that was raised by the *Ministers*, in *Edinburgh*, (1596.) The King by *Proclamation*, discharged all *Judicatories* from Sitting there. Whereupon the *Ministers* prest

Ibid. p.
431.

a Bond of Association, upon the Noblemen, and Barons; and sent a Letter (drawn by Robert Bruce, and Walter Batcanquel) to the Lord Hamilton to Head them: For by the Motion of God's Spirit, and animated by the Word, the People had gone to Arms, in Defence of the Church, &c.



Not to trouble you with a Rabble of Unnecessary Instances: In the Ninth Section, there has been said more than enough upon this Subject already. You shall now see the Veneration they have for the PERSONS of Princes.

Gibson, in the Pulpit, denounced that Curse against King James, that fell upon Jeroboam: that he should die Childless, and be the last of the Race. (An. 1585.) which words, by the Assembly, (with much ado, and after declining the Question, were found to be Scandalous.

Spotsw.
Hist. pa.
343.

Ibid. 367.

David Blake preached, that all Kings were the Devils Barns, and His Majesty had detected the Treachery of his Heart. For which he was cited before King and Council, and appeal'd to the Presbytery, who by their Commissioners moved his Majesty for a Surcease of the Process, with a charge, in case of refusal, to Protest against the Proceedings of the Counsel.

Ibid. 419.

Ibid. 423

Quasi Pulpita (sayes Cambrden) *a Regum Authoritate essent Exempta*. As if Pulpits were priviledged from the Authority of Princes.

Ibid. 430. *John Welch*, at the High Church in *Edinburgh*, preached, that *the King was possesst with a Devil, and that the People might Rise Lawfully, and take the Sword out of his hand.*

But what is all this, in comparison with the License of the late times here at Home, when the *Two Houses*, and *Assembly* were daily entertained with *Sermons* and *Pamphlets* of this Quality, for which the *Authors* had their *Thanks*, and *Impri-manturs*? But I shall rather confine my self now, to the *Arbitrary* excesses of the *Scottish Presbytery*, as the *Model* of the *Covenanted* and blessed *Reformation*.

To come now to their *Usurpation* upon the *Civil Power*.

Ibid. 322. *King James* was surpriz'd at *Ruthuen* (1582.) under pretext of *Religion*, and kept 5 months a Prisoner. This Act was publicquely justified by the *Assembly* at *Edinburgh*, as done for the *Preservation* of the *Kings Person* and *Religion*.

Ibid. 330. In the Case of *Andrew Melvil*: It was insisted upon, that *Treason* in the *Pulpit*,
fell

fell under the Cognition of the *Presbytery*, and that neither *King* nor *Counsell*, *Primâ Instantiâ*, ought to meddle with it. But it is a much easier matter to find what a Prince may *not* do, (under the Inspection of a *Presbytery*) then what he *may*.

He must not (a) receive an *Embassader*, (a) Ibid. nor (b) pardon an *Offender*, without the 324. Approbation of the *Kirk*. Nor so much (b) 398. as chuse his own *Guards*; (c.) Court- (c) 419. *Officers*, or *Counsellers*, nor Issue out any *Proclamations* or *Decrees*. They are to direct him (d) what *Forfeitures* to take, and (d) 405. how to *dispose* of them: *when* to *Arme*, and *whom* to *Trust*. If the King has a mind to *Feast* an *Embassader*, they presently indict a *Fast* (e); and Curse the Ma- (e) 334. gistrates almost to *Excommunication*, for not observing it. Nay so little Power had King *James* with these people, that (f) when his Mother was under a Sentence (f) 354. of *Death*, he could not get them so much as to *Pray* for her, *That God wou'd Illuminate her with the Light of his Truth*, and *save her from the Apparent danger she was in*,

On the other side; they claim to themselves the Power of *Warr*, and *Peace*; of *Calling* and *Dissolving Assemblies*; and whensoever they shall think fit to say, that
the

King's
large De-
claration,
p. 415.

the Good of the Church; the Glory of God; or any Spiritual end is concerned, They make no Scruple in the World, of Levying Armes, Men, Monies; Seizing of Castles, and Forts; Issuing out of Warrants for Members of Parliament. (a) They impose Oaths and Covenants against the King Himself; (b) Encounter Proclamations with Anti-Protests; (c) Rescind Acts of Counsels, &c. And what's the colour for all this Haughtiness and State? The Ministers (forsooth) are Christs Deputies; and their Acts are Christ's Ordinances; whereas Judges, Counsellors, and Parliaments are but the King's Substitutes, and their Laws only Humane.

(a) Ibid.
87.

(b) 98.

(c) Pag.
416.

201

Presb. You are not any more to conclude against the Presbyterial Government, from the President of some Factionous Assemblies, than against the Constitution of Parliaments, from the President of some Seditious Compositions and Elections.

Indep. Neither do I charge these Imposing Usurpations upon the Confederacy of a Cabal, or a Faction, but upon the Original Scope, and Mystery of the Discipline; for I find them rooted in the very Foundation of their Policy.

*Their Pragmatical Intermeddling in
Civil*

Civil Affairs, and *Matters of State*, is warranted by their *Book of Government*; where it is said, that *The Minister handleth External things, only for Conscience cause*: Now I would fain know That Notion which may not some way or other, be made Relative to *Conscience*.

Scotch
Discipline
P. 79.

For *Limiting the Magistrate in the Exercise of his Power*, they have this Plea; that *though the Ministers do not EXERCISE the Civil Jurisdiction, they TEACH the Magistrate how it should be Exercised, according to the Word*. So that the *Prince* is put to *Schoole* to the *Masterships* of his *Parish*, to learn every point and circumstance of his *Duty*.

Ibid. p. 79.

Now for the *Absolute*, and *Boundless Jurisdiction* of their *General Assemblies*: They tell us, not only that *The Kirk is to appoint Times and Places convenient for their Meeting; but that as well Magistrates, as Inferiours, are to be SUBJECT to the JUDGMENT of the same; in Ecclesiastical Causes, without any Reclamations or APPEAL, to any Judge Civil or Ecclesiastical*.

Ibid. p. 97.

Is not this a *Dethroning of Majesty*, to set *Princes*, and *Peasants* upon the same *Level* in point of *Subjection* to their *Resolutions* and *Decrees*?

Presb.

Ibid. p. 91.

Presb. Not at all; For the Magistrate is to assist, and maintain the Discipline of the Kirk; And punish them Civilly that will not obey the Censure of the same.

Indep. In truth it is a Goodly Office, you have allotted the *Chief Magistrate*; to set him *Cheek by Jowle* with the *Beadle of the Parish*: You are to direct the Punishment, and He is to Execute it.

But what if he should prove *Refractory*, and dispute your *Authority*? In Case of *Contumacy*, He is as *Liabie to Censure* (you say) as *another person*. And then you have no more to do, but to resort to your ordinary Method of Calling in the *Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgessees*, and *Commons* to your Assistance against him.

Ibid. 61.

Let me now marque to you, two Passages in your Discipline, that make two shrewd discoveries. [*A Minister* (you say) *must not frequent, and commonly haunt the COURT, unless either sent by the Kirk, or called upon by Authority for his Counsel, and Judgment in CIVIL AFFAIRS*. And afterwards, you say, that, *Ministers may and should assist their Princes, when required, in all things agreeable to the Word; whether it be in*

Ibid. 44.

COUN-

COUNSEL, or PARLIAMENT,
or otherwise. Provided, that through Flat-
tery of Princes, they hurt not the Publique
state of the Church.

Whence it appears; *First*, that *simple*
Presbyters may do well enough in *Parlia-*
ments, or *Councils*; though *Bishops* are
Excluded: were it not *Secondly*, for the
danger of creating a Kindness betwixt
the *King*, and the *Kirk*; which in
consequence would frustrate the main
Design. For the *Prime end* of this
Church Policy is the *Overtopping* and
Subjecting of the *Secular Power*: and it
was wisely done to temper the very
Foundation of it with Principles of *Op-*
position to the *Order*, and *well Being* of
Civil Government.

SECT.

SECT. XXIX.

The Question of Toleration, betwixt Presbytery, and Independency; Debated, with regard to the Foundation, and Execution of the LAW.

Presb. **W**Hat if you had put the Question, betwixt a Peaceable, and Obedient sort of people, and a Generation of men that cannot live out of Contention?

Indep. The men of Contention, I suppose you would have me understand to be the Independents. What's the Quarrel to them upon the matter now before us?

Presb. Only This: that they are Intolerable in any Government. How many Plots have they had upon this Kingdom, since his Majesties Return? There was Venner's Rising; A Conspiracy in the North; Another in Ireland.

Indep. And all this while, you forget the Rebellion in Scotland, which was professedly Presbyterian; beside that, These

Toleration Discus'd. 319

These disorders which you speak of, were nothing at all to the *Independents*: But (one way or other) these Instances are to no purpose without some *Authoritative Allowance*; and Pray'e let us agree upon it, that only the *Conclusions* of the *Kirk*, on the *one* hand, and of the *Church* on the *other*, may be Insisted upon, as the *Acts* of either Party.

Presb. I do not find that the *Independent Churches* come to any *Resolutions* at all.

Indep. You have the less to say then against their *Principles*; and I wish the *Independents* could say the same thing for the *Presbyterians*.

How far, I beseech you, are *Humane Laws* Binding?

Presb. So far forth as they are agreeable to the *Word of God*.

Indep. And who shall Determine what *Laws* and *Constitutions* are agreeable to *God's Word*?

Presb. The Church Lawfully Constituted; which all Godly Princes, and Magistrates ought to hear, and to obey their voice, and reverence the Majesty of the Son of God speaking in them. 2d. Book of Disc. p. 92.

Indep. I need not ask what Church that is; For *John Merellius* was Excommunicate,

municate, for mainteyning in a certain Treatise, That *TELL THE CHURCH*, did not belong to the *Consistory*, and the *Book was burnt*. But to the Poynt.

If the *Word of God* be the *Rule* for *Humane Laws*; and the *Presbytery*, the sole Expounders of the *Word of God*; the *Law* of the *Nation* is at the *Mercy* of the *Kirk* already: for 'tis but saying, that *This or That Law is not Agreeable to the Word of God*, and there's an end on't.

2d. Book
of Disc. P.
36.

Presb. The Kirk has Power to Abrogate and Abolish all Statutes, and Ordinances concerning Ecclesiastical Matters, that are found noysome, and unprofitable, and agree not with the Time, or are abused by the People.

Indep. If the Kirk has This Power, the Pope Himself pretends to nothing beyond it. Are not your Determinations as peremptory; and your Orders as Imperious? But I am speaking here, as to the Latitude of your Pretended Jurisdiction. You may abrogate All Statutes (you say) CONCERNING Ecclesiastical Matters. And I say, on the other side, that you may upon that Ground, abrogate all the Statutes in the Christian

Toleration Discuss'd. 321.

Christian World : for I defie the whole race of Mankind, to shew me any one Law extant, or the very supposition of a Law possible, which may not some way or other, be said to *CONCERN Ecclesiastical Matters.*

Presb. You take no notice, how this Power is clogg'd with *Limitations.* If they be found *Unprofitable, Unseasonable,* or to be *abused by the People.*

Indep. Very good : And if the Kirk shall think fit to find them so or so ; Pray'e *What Remedy ?* But their own *Avowed Actions,* and *Declarations,* are the *Best Comments* upon their own *Principles.*

Under King *James* in *Scotland,* nothing was more ordinary , then over-Ruling *Acts of Parliament* by the *Acts* of the *Assembly :* Did they not erect a *Counsel of the Church* in *Edenborough, 1596.* and take upon them to *Convene, Examine,* and *Censure* at pleasure such as they suspected to hold any Correspondence with certain *Excommunicate Lords ?* did they not also appoint to meet in *Armes,* at the Tryal of them ?

Nor did they think it enough , to *Rescind,* or *supersede Acts of Parliament* and *General Assemblies :* but *People must*

Spotsw. Hist. P. 418.

lb. p. 398

Kings large Declaration, P. 416.

322 Toleration Discuss'd.

be *Question'd* too for yielding Obedience to Acts of Parliament, and of General Councils under Colour of Unjust Laws. Wee'll close this particular with the Judgment of the Commissioners of the General Assembly of Scotland, of May 5. 1648.

Declar.
of the
Commissi-
on. p 55.
and 56.

The Authority of Parliament is one thing; an Act of Parliament another thing. We do still acknowledg their Authority, when we obey not This or That Act. And whatsoever be the **TREASON** of Impugning the Authority of **PARLIAMENT**, It can be no Treason to obey **GOD** rather then **MAN**: Neither did the General Assembly of Glasgow, 1638. and such as were active for the Covenant at That time, commit any Treason, when they Impugned Episcopacy, and Perth Articles, although ratify'd, and strengthen'd by Acts of **PARLIAMENT**, and standing **LAWS** then Unrepealed.

Presb. When we have once gotten Power into our hands, we are all too apt to abuse it. But I cannot yet persuade my self that the Root of these Practises is to be found in their Principles. Their Books of Discipline are Publick; and no Government would ever entertain it, if there were such danger in it.

Indep. How

*Indep? How was the Covenant enter-
tein'd? or who would have dream'd of
any harm in a League for the Preservation
and Defence of the King's Majestic's
Person and Authority? And yet the
Presbyterian Interpretation, and Salvos of
Subordinating his Majesties SAFETY
and PRESERVATION, to the
Defence of the TRUE RELIGION
(immediately following) and the Kirks
assuming to Themselves the Judgment of
that Religion, brought both King and
Church to Destruction. Nor can you
choose but Observe the Holy Discipline,
and Covenant, to be both of a Stile, and
both of a Design: Their Claim concern-
ing Ecclesiastical Matters, hooks in all
Laws; and In the Defence of the true Re-
ligion, They usurp an Authority over all
Magistrates. This Discipline (at the best)
is but a Worm at the Root of Civil Go-
vernment: Wheresoever it comes, the
Secular Power hangs the head, and droops
upon it, and never thrives after. But to
Sovereign Princes, a man might say of it,
as God said to Adam, of the Apple: In
the day you eat thereof, you shall dye the
death.*

Now as it is manifestly destructive of

Law in the very *Foundations* of it, to carry an Appeal from all *Temporal Governours* and *Constitutions*, to the Scepter and Sentence of *Christ*, sitting upon his TRIBUNAL in the PRESBYTERY (the Language of *Beza* himself) so likewise have they their Preparatory Artifices for Obstructing the Execution of Law, and for the *Weakening*, and *Distracting* of a Government before they enter upon the Great Work of *Dissolving* it. And this is effected by the *Trojan Horse* (as one calls it) of their *Excommunication*, that carries all the Instruments and Engines of *Publique Ruine*, and *Confusion* in the belly of it.

By Virtue of this Device, they do not only impose upon all Ministers, and Courts of Justice; but they may, when they please (as *Hooker* observes) send out their *Writs of Surcease*; and fetch in the whole Business of *Westminster-Hall*, to the Bar of the Consistory. Or at the fairest, (according to *Beza's* Distinction) if they allow the Civil Judge to try the Fact (as *mere Civile*) yet *de Jure Controverso, Ecclesiasticum Synedrium constat Respondisse*: The Church was to determine in matter of Law, and the Civil Magistrate after That, to pronounce Sentence, according to
That

Tha: Decifion. Briefly, *Beza* gives the *Presbytery* the same Power under the *Gospel*, which was Exercifed by the *Synagogue* under the *Law*. But now to the Point of your *Excommunication*; and to fhew you in what manner it is apply'd, to hinder the *Execution* of *Law*; and to ob-
~~fruct~~ *Civil Juftice*.

By One Clause of your Discipline, You may *Abrogate* what Laws you please, concerning *Ecclefiaftical Matters*: And by Another; The Minister is Authorized to handle *External* things, for *Confcience* Cause: So that your *Authority* is without Controul in *Ecclefiaftical Matters*; and fo is your *Liberty* of handling *Civil Mat- ters* as *Ecclefiaftical*. Upon which Bottom was founded an Affertion not long fince mainteined at the *Savoy*, i. e. *That the Command of a moft Lawful Act is finful, if That Act commanded may prove to any One a Sin per Accidens*, Now if the *Kirk* fhall think fit to *Abrogate* a Law (as nothing more frequent) whoever fhall pre- fume to *Execute* That Law, is fure to be *Excommunicate*: And the *Supreme Ma- giftrate* himfelf is no lefs lyable to *Church Cenfure*, for not *Executing* That Sentence, then the *Inferior Magiftrate* was for his *Original Difobedience*.

Spotsw
Hist.
P. 345.

The Bishop of *St. Andrews* (in 1586.) was *Excommunicate* for Advising King *James* to a Declaration against Certain Fugitive Ministers that were denounced Rebels; and Contriving the Statutes of (1584.) touching *The Kings Authority in Ecclesiastical Causes*. *Knox* is for *Excommunication* in all Crimes, that are *Capital* by the Law of God; and in effect, for the *Churches Tryal* of the very *Facts*. It was not for nothing that the *Two Houses* held the *Assembly* so long in Play; upon this Point; and in Despight of all Importunities to the Contrary, kept the Staffe still in their own Hands; and reserved to Themselves the *Ultimate Appeal*, in Cases of *Excommunication*.

Presb. Was it not rather the Work of the *Independents*? Who (to say the Truth) were as much against any Settlement at all, as against That; And against the very Conbening of the Assembly it self.

Indep. And they had done the State a good Office, if they had totally hindred it. But this is beside our Business. We have said enough as to the Dangerous Influence of *Presbytery*, upon the Security of his Majesty and the Law. It remains now to be considered, with a respect to the *Rights*, and *Liberties* of the People. SECT.

S E C T. XXX.

The Question of Toleration, betwixt Presbytery, and Independency, Debated, with a Regard to the Rights, Liberties, and Advantages of the P E O P L E.

Indep. **Y**OU see how it is with *Kings, Parliaments, and Laws*, under the Dominion of *Presbytery*. We are now to look into the Condition of the *Nobility, Gentry, Commonalty*, and of the *Presbyterial Clergy* it self, under that Discipline: Which will best appear, by a view of the Powers which the *Presbytery* claims, and Exercises. But let me Commend One Note to you as Previous to that Examination. This Party has constantly screw'd it self into the World, by an *Oath of Mutual Defence*: Which *Oath* they apply as well to the Ruine and Extirpation of their Opponents, as to their own Preservation; by making it a Test of good Affection to That Interest; and Excluding all People whatsoever from any Office, or Benefit Ecclesiastical, or Civil, without subscribing it. You cannot deny but this *Oath* in the very Institution of it, is a Violence both

upon *Law*, and *Conscience*; and Consequently, that the Imposition falls heaviest upon those that make an Honourable, and Religious Scruple of their Actions. So that here is already exposed the most Considerable part of the Nation, for the Subject of their Displeasure; with their *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Fortunes* at *Mercy*; as you will find upon a further Consideration of their Usurped *Authority*, and *Jurisdiction*.

Presb. Leave this way of General Discourse, and come to Particular Instances. Where is it, that you find This Exorbitant Power that you talk of?

Indep. In the very Declaration of the Commission of the General Assembly of Scotland, 1648. page 53. [*The Duties of the Second Table as well as of the First: As namely, the Duties between King, and Subject; Parents, and Children; Husbands, and Wives; Masters, and Servants, and the Like; being contained in, and to be taught and cleared from the Word of God, are in That Respect, and so far as concerneth the Point of Conscience, a Subject of Ministerial Doctrine, and in Difficult Cases, a Subject of Cognizance and Judgment to the Assembly of the Kirk.* The Dispute here was about the *Assemblies Authority*,

thority, in the Question of *War* or *Peace*.

Is not This at one Blow to destroy the Order of all Relations, *Political*, *Natural*, and *Moral*? *Princes* must not presume to make *War* or *Peace*; To *Enact* Laws, or *Abrogate*; To *Spare* or *Punish*, without *Ecclesiastical Licence*. The *Subject* must go to the *Masters of the Parish*, to know whether, he shall *Obe*y *Authority*, or *Resist* it. And after the same manner it fares with *Parents*, and *Children*; *Husbands*, and *Wives*; *Masters*, and *Servants*; So that there is not any Person, either *Public*, or *Private*; Or any *Action*, or *Office*, of *Regard* to *Community*, *Family*, or *Alliance*, that escapes their *Pragmatical Scrutiny*, and *Inspection*.

Presb. So far as these *Duties* are matter of *Conscience*, there is no *Doubt*, but they are of *Ecclesiastical Cognisance*; and further then so, they make no *Pretension*.

Indep. But you must give me leave to tell you then, that their *Consciences* are larger then other *Peoples*. *The Old Nonconformist* (as an *Expedient* for the settling *Ecclesiastical Affairs* (Page 43.) proposes the setting up of *Work-Houses* for the *Poor*; the *Carrying on* of the *Fishing Trade*;

Trade ; The taking off of *Protections* ; that none may be Imprison'd but according to *Law* : and the Abatement of *Taxes*. The Assembly at *Glasgow* 1638. pass'd an Act concerning *Salmon Fishing*, and another about *Salt-Pans*. And all This I Warrant ye, so far as they concern'd Point of *Conscience*. But if you would see, what the *Consistory* calls *Conscience*, in the full Extent ; we must repair for satisfaction, to their *Direction*, and *Practises* in the matter of *Conscience*, and *Excommunication*.

The Kirk proceeds to *Excommunication* in all *Capital Crimes*, where the Offender that deserv'd to dye, is suffer'd to live. And in Cases of *Fornication*, *Drunkenness*, *Swearing*, *Cursing*, *Sabbath-Breaking*, *Wanton Words*, *Contempt of the Orders of the Church* ; *Oppression of the Poor* ; *Deceit in Buying and Selling*, by wrong *Mete and Measure*.

Presb. Well ; and what hurt's in all this ?

Indep. None at all : But let me proceed. They Censure also *Excess* in *Apparel*, *Meat*, or *Drink*, *UNCOMELY GESTURES* ; *Contentiousness*, without reasonable Cause ; *Chiding*, *Brawling*,
VAIN-

VAIN WORDS; Every fault that tendeth to the Hurt of a Man's Neighbour, or to the Hindrance of the Glory of God: Whether by Force, or Fraud; Word, or Deed; Manifestly, or Secretly; Purposely, or Ignorantly: And the Judgment of the whole is left to the Discretion of the Church. So that your very Thoughts are not free. [The Spiritual Ruler (says the Book of Discipline) Judgeth Both Inward Affections, and External Actions in respect of Conscience, by the Word of God. Upon which ground they take upon them to Censure the very *SUSPICION* of Avarice, and Pride: Superfluity or Riotousness, in Cheer or Rayment. But upon Dancers, Robin Hoods, and all Games that brings Loss, they have no mercy. These particulars are extracted to a syllable out of the most Authentical Records they have to shew for the Warrant of the *Scottish Discipline* - (Our Blessed Model.)

Page. 79.

But many People perchance will make it a matter of nothing to be *Excommunicate* upon a Supposition that the *Anathema* is the uttermost spice of the *Censure*. They never dream of Cartings, Foggies, Pillories, Shaving their Beards, and Cutting half the Hair of their Heads. Banishments, Pecuniary Mulcts, Close Imprison-

Presbyte-
ry Dis-
play'd.
P. 4.

prisonments, and all sorts of Studied Defamations.

Ibid. p 39.

Nay, If any man refuse to Subscribe their Confession of Faith, Rule of Government, and Manner of Worship, He is forthwith Excommunicate; and upon Remonstrance of a Commissioner from the Presbytery to the Civil Judge, a Warrant granted, commanding him to Conform by a Day Certain, or to be **OUTLAWED**. If he Conform not within that time, his **ESTATE MOVEABLE** is **FORFEITED**; and if not within a Year and a Day, he Loses his whole **REVENUE** for his Life. After This, at the further Instance of the Churches Commissioner, Out go Letters of Caption, for Apprehending of his Person, and Committing him as a Rebel. And if he be not to be found; These are follow'd with Letters of Inter-Communing, forbidding all men either Personally to Confer with him, or by Letter, or interposed Person to Correspond with him, upon Pein of the Inter-Communers being Judged and Reputed a Rebel of the same Guiltiness.

Book of
Disci-
pline. p. 56.

As to the General Rule of Excommunication; no Person (Wife and Family excepted) is to have any Communication with the Excommunicate; be it in Eating or Drink-

Drinking; Buying or Selling; Tea in Saluting or Talking with Him: Unless at Commandment or License of the Ministry for his Conversion. His Children Begotten and Born after That Sentence not to be admitted to Baptisme, till of Age to require it; Unless the Mother or some special Friends, Members of the Kirk, Offer and Present the Child, Damning the Iniquity and Contempt of the Impenitent. There are that do not allow Husbands to accompany with their Wives in the State of Excommunication.

Ibid. p. 57.

Spotsw. Hist.

P. 436.

Now upon what has been deliver'd, Let any Man Consider the *Unchristian Rigor* of This *Disciplinary Inquisition*; not only in the Actual Tyranny of it, but in the more Miserable Consequences.

First as it *Scandalizes the Gospel*, and *makes the Death of Christ seem to be no Effect*, by Imposing upon Us such Conditions of Salvation, as if the Blessed Angels should descend, and Indue Humane shapes, they were not able to perform. For it is not what Christ and his Apostles say, that will do a Man's business here, without the *Urim and Thummim* of the *Parochial Session*, and the Defects of the *Written Word*, are to be supplied by *Unwritten Traditions* out of the Repository of the *Pres-*

Unchristian Rigor.

at 12:00
2003
11/10/03

Presbyterial Cabale. In this Case it is that we are to have recourse to the Apostles Precept; of *Standing fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made Us Free, and not to be intangled again in the Yoke of Bondage.* (A Yoke much more intolerable then That of the Law;) For the Jews had their Lesson before their Eyes, and knew what they were to do. But here, it matters not what either *Scripture* or *Conscience* says, without the subsequent Concurrence of the *Presbytery*: to whose Supreme, and Infallible Judgment (and not to our own) We are to stand or fall either to Heaven, or Hell.

The *Rigor* of this *Discipline* is most *Un-Christian* also, as it *Crucifies Weak Consciences with Needles, Infinite, and Incurable Scruples*; with *Scruples* that Haunt, Dog, and Torment us in the most *Necessary, and Ordinary Actions of Humane Life.* At the *Church*; at the *Table*; at the *Market*; at *Home*, and *Abroad*. At all *Times*, in all *Places*, and upon all *Occasions*; in our *Words*, *Thoughts*, and *Deeds*.

Excess in
Eating
censu-
rable.

As to *Excess in Eating.* It is *Censurable* either in the *Quantity*, or in the *Quality*. So that in the *first* place the *Eldership* is to provide One *Common Gage* for the *Stomachs*

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Stomachs of the whole Parish, for fear of a Mouthful too much. And in the *second* Place, it is made a matter of *Salvation*, or *Damnation*, whether a Man Eats *Beef*, or *Venison*.

And so, for *Excess* in *APPAREL*. Apparel. One Inch more, then to Cover your shame, is a *Superfluity*; and One Penny more, in the Pound, then the *Allowance* of the *Presbytery*, is made as much as a Man's Soul is worth.

It is the same thing for *VAIN WORDS*. Vain words. A Nurse shall not dare to still her Child but with a Psalm; and you must not presume so much as to ask *What a Clock it is*, without a *Text*; to prove that the *Question* tends to *Edification*.

But the hardest Case of all is, That of *Suspicion*. *SUSPICION*. The very *Suspicion* of *Pride*. *Avarice*, or *Pride*, You say, makes a Man lyable to Censure. This, methinks, is very severe, for a Man to be delivered over to *Sathan*, because the *Brotherhood* *Suspects* him to be *Proud*, or *Covetous*; whether he be so, or no.

Presb. 'Tis to be presumed, that the Church will proceed according to a Judgment of *Charity*, and *Discretion*.

Indep. Did not the *Kirk* *Excommunicate*

cate the whole Multitude for a Robin-Hood? Nay at *St. Johnstons*, they cursed not only the Men, that should take part with the King, but the very *Horses*, and *Spears*. (Here's an *Excommunication* by way of *Advance*) Upon the Action of Duke *Hamilton* in 1648. the whole Party were *Excommunicate* (even after the Defeat: (as appears by the *Scotch Act for Renewing the Covenant*.)

*Spotsw.
History.
P. 395.*

In some Cases again, They are as *Tender* and *Cautelous*. *Andrew Hunter* (a Prime stickler for the Discipline) attended *Bothwell* as his Chaplain, in a Rebellion, 1593. But King *James* could not prevail with the Assembly to *Excommunicate* Him for it; (though no Doubt was made of the Fact) Nay, on the Contrary, They would not be quiet, till they had got *Bothwell's* Pardon. And upon *Gowry's* attempt (in the Year 1600.) His Majesty required the Ministers of *Edenburgh* to give God thanks in their Churches for his Deliverance, and they refused it.

Ibid. 460.

But to the Point we were upon. As nothing can be more Contrary to the *Temper* and *Dictate* of the *Holy Gospel* then the Claim of this *Arbitrary* and *Censorious Jurisdiction*: It seems to me to stand in an equal Degree of Opposition to the

Rules

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Rules of Society, Humanity, and Reason.

The KING is upon his good Behaviour to the *Elders*, and *Deacons* (*who are Judges of others manners*) as well as the Meanest man in the Parish. He is indeed (as is observ'd by the Author of *Presbytery Displayd*) the *Chief Member* of the *General Assembly*; but they allow him no Negative Voice; and if he has the Fortune to be *Out-Voted*, he must cause the Sentence to be *Executed*, whatever it be, under Pein of *Censure*, and Consequently of *Deprivation*.

Book of
Disci-
pline. p. 61

Of *Acts of Parliament*, and *Inferiour Magistrates*, enough is spoken already.

As to the State of the **NOBILITY**, and **GENTRY**, they are either *Conformists* to the Government, or *Dissenters*; and must take their Lot in it, to be either *Sovereigns*, or *Slaves*: (for that's the distribution of it.) Upon the Mayn These *Domini Dominantium* Challenge by their Commission to be *no Respecters of Persons*; and so lay upon all Sorts, and Conditions of Men in General at their good Pleasure certain *Common Impositions*, Importing their *Servility*, and *Subjection*, and whose *Livery* they wear.

2d. Book
of Discipl.
p. 97.

I must not omit one Peculiar Obligation, the Nobility, and Gentry have to these their Gracious Masters : Which is the Easing them of their Patronages, and Presentations to Benefices, because These things flowed from the Pope, and the Corruption of the Canon Law only, and are Contrary to the Word of God, and the Peoples Liberty of Electing their own Ministers. [For (say They) this is altogether to be avoided, that any man be violently Intruded, or Thrust in upon any Congregation. But this Liberty, with all Care, must be reserved to every several Church, to have their Votes, and Suffrages in Election of their Ministers.]

1st. Book
of Discipl.
p. 29.

Observe now, I beseech you, the Peoples Liberty, in this Choice. Violent Intrusion we call it not, when the Counsel of the Church, in the fear of God, and for the salvation of the People, offereth unto them a sufficient Man, to Instruct them. If his Doctrine be found wholesome, and able to Instruct the Simple, and if the Church justly can reprehend nothing in his Life, Doctrine, nor Utterance, then we judge the Church Unreasonable, if they refuse him, whom the Church did offer; and they shou'd be compelled by the Censure of the Counsel, and Church, to receive the Person appointed. Here's Liberty upon Compulsion; and it is most

1bid. p. 29.

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most Palpable, that your whole Design is the Interest of a Party.

Come now to the men of Ordinary *Business*, and *Traffick*. The *Presbytery* will put an end to all their Disputes, about *Free Trade*, *Priviledges*, and matter of *Commerce*, with a wet Finger. Did they not *spaw.* by an *Act of Assembly at Dundy 1592.* *Hist. pa.* Prohibit the *Scots Trading* with any of *393.* the King of *Spains* Dominions, | under Pein of *Excommunication*? And his Majesty refusing to comply with them, (at the Instance of the *Spanish Merchants*) Did they not proceed to *Censure* the *Merchants*? So that there shall be no *Trading*, but where they please: And no *Markets* *Ibid. 394.* neither but upon their good liking too. Did they not by their Proper Authority Discharge the *Munday-Market* in *Edinburgh*? But the *Shoo-makers* indeed were too hard for the *Elders* this bout, and told them plainly, they would turn out all their *Ministers* by Head and Shoulders first, before they parted with their *Market*. Upon which Menace they were quiet.

The Author of *Presbytery Display'd*, P. 10, gives you some Instances of the *Presbyteries Interposal*, in *Actions of Debt*, and menacing *Landlords*, and *Creditors*, with

Excommunication, unless they laid down the *Precess*: Upon Pretense Forsooth, that though it was in a *Civil Cause*, it had yet a *Spiritual Prospekt*: *Withdrew People from their Callings, and Hindred the Progress of the Gospel.*

And this is no more, then any man will reasonably Expect, that looks but with half an eye upon the very *Frame*, and *Provision* of the *Discipline*. Is not he a mad man, that thinks to recover a Debt at *Common Law*, against any Member, or Members Friend of the *Presbytery*, when 'tis but flying to the Canon of the *Consistory*, to silence the Dispute, and telling Him, that *He is Contentious without a Reasonable Cause*? Cannot the *Church* put an End to Strife among Brethren, as well as the *Civil Magistrate*? It is a matter of Evil Example, and *tends to the Hurt of our Neighbour*. If the Creditor be Obstinate, and will not take good Counsel, Out flies an *Excommunication* against Him, for *refusing to obey the Orders of the Church*.

I would now fain understand, what it is that sets so many of the **MINISTERS** a Gog upon this Platform; For certainly, They are of all Mortals the most Contem-
ptible: (the *Junto*, and some few of the *Select Ones Excepted*.)

Their

Their *Discipline* Divides the *Church* Book of Disc. p. 98.
Patrimony into four *Parts*. One for the *Pastor* ; Another for the *Elders, Deacons,*
 and other *Kirk-Officers* ; their *Doctors,*
 and *Schools*. A *Third* for *Charitable Uses* :
 and the *Rest* for *Repairing of Churches,* and
 other *Incidental Charges*. So that the
Clergy is strip'd already of 3. *Parts* of 4 of
 their *Legal Maintenance,*

And then for the poor *Pittance* that is Book of Discipl. P. 34.
 left ; so much as will keep *Life* and *Soul*
 together, they are allow'd in *Meal,* and
Mau't ; and totally dependent upon the
Mercy of the *Church* for the rest. And
 yet for this pittance, *They are to be* Ibid. 61.
call'd to Account how they spend it ; and Ibid. p. 35
their Wives, and Children, to be thrown at
last upon the Charge of the Parish. In their
Preaching, they are Limited by the *Di-*
rection, and *Design* of their *Leaders* : On-
 ly *Tenants at Will* in their *Cures* ; and ly-
 able to be *Removed, Suspended, or Deposed*
 at *Pleasure.* This *Arbitrary Dominion,* to-
 gether with the *Shameful Condition* of their
Bondage, has proved so great a *Discou-*
agement to the *Ministry,* that they have
 found themselves forc'd to *Press Ministers*
 into the *Service,* as they would do *Souldi-*
ers. And where they find men of *Abili-*
 ties for their *Purpose,* The *Civil Magistrate*

¹bid. p. 32. is call'd upon, to *compel them to the Ministry.*

Ibid. p. 44. Nay rather than fail, *the Nobility and Gentry must bring up their Children, to the Service, and good Liking of the Kirk, under Pain of Church-Censure.*

A Jurisdiction exercised according to the Latitude of This Discipline, One would think, might satisfie any Reasonable sort of People. But alas! If they do not as much Exceed their own *Bounds*, in their *Practise*, as they exceed all other *Models* in their *Pretensions*, they reckon it as good as nothing. They can *Cite People* out of a *Remote Jurisdiction*. *Deprive whole Presbyterys for Dissent.* (Kings Declaration, page 314.) *Call Nine Presbyters of Fifty, a General Assembly.* (Spotswood, p. 490.) *Demolish Churches* (304.) and *Dispose of the Patrimony* (311.) and what not?

More needs not be said, as to the Empire They Exercise over *King, Lords, and Commons*, severally, and in divers Respects: We come now to their Usurpations upon the Common *Rights*, and *Priviledges* of *Mankind*.

CHIDING (as I told you) they have drawn within the Compass of *Ecclesiastical Censure*. So that *Masters* shall not Reprove their *Servants*, nor *Parents* their

their *Children*; without leave of the *Eldership*, (to the utter Dissolution of the *Order and Discipline of Private Families*.) Nay, they have taken in *BRAWLING* too, and made every *Billingsgate Quarrel*, every Brabble betwixt a Butter-Whore and an Oysterwench, a Subject of *Consistorial Cognizance*.

Under the Censure of *LEWD CUSTOMS* are Comprized all sorts of *Publique Sports, Exercises, and Recreations*, that have been long in Use; upon the Worshipful Pretense (forsooth) that they had their Original from the times of *Paganism, or Popery*: As *Comedies, Interludes, Wrestlings, Foot-Ball-Play, May-Games, Whitson-ales, Morrice-Dances, Bear-baitings*; Nay the Poor *Rosemary, and Bayes, and Christmas-Pye*, is made an *Abomination*.

Presb. And are not the *Independents* as much against these *Fooberies* as the *Presbyterians*?

Indep. No, we take Our own Freedom, to forbear what we dislike our selves; and allow other People their Liberty, to Practise what pleases them. But to proceed.

All *GAMES* that bring *LQSS* are Prohibited, *Tennis, Bowles, Billiards*;

Not so much as a Game at *Stool-Ball* for a *Tansy*, or a *Cross and Pyle* for the odd Penny of a Reckoning, upon Pain of *Damnation*.

——— *Shortly, Boys shall not Play At Span-Counter, or Blow-Point, but shall Pay Toll to some Presbyter.* ——

What do you think now of **UNCOMELY GESTURES**? That a man shall be given to the Devil, for *Lolling* upon his *Elbow*, or setting on his *Back-side*, in the Presence of the *Deacon* of the Parish.

And the Like for *Excess* in **EATING**, or **APPEAR**L. Every Bit we put into our Mouths, and every Rag we put upon our Backs, becomes a Snare to Us. It may be either too *much*, or too *costly*: and What Reformation soever the Kirk shall think fit to Order, either in our *Clothes*, or *Dyet*, must be observ'd, with the same Degree of *Submission*, and *Obedience*, as if the matter in Question were an *Article of our Creed*.

Their Censure of **VAIN WORDS** is yet more Rigorous, and reaches for ought we know, to the honestest Endearments, and Familiarities of Friendship, and Conversation, even to the Exclusion of Com-
mon

mon Decency, and Civility. But let Our Words be what they will, We are still dependent upon the good Pleasure of the *Eldership*, whether they will pronounce them *Vain*, or *Edifying*.

But why should a man expect to scape for WORDS, where THOUGHT it self is Censurable? SUSPICION of *Avarice*, *Pride*, &c. (as you have heard) He that sues to recover a Debt, shall be *suspected of Avarice*. He that refuses to Crouch like the Ass under the Burthen, shall be *suspected of Pride*. And for a Man and a Woman to be only seen together, shall be ground enough for a suspicion of Incontinency. Nay, they shall be Cited, Interrogated, Close-Committed, and put to Bread and Water upon it; and compell'd to Swear in *Propriam Turpitudinem*. After all This, and that no Proof appears, and that they purge themselves upon Oath: It shall be yet Enacted by the Assembly, that if ever These two shall be seen again in Company together, unless at Church, or Market, they shall be taken pro Confesso for Guilty.

Presb.
Display'd.
P. 9.

A whole Volume (says the Author of *Presbytery Display'd*) might be written of Young Women by these Courses, disgraced, and Defamed: Of many Families divided, and scatter'd; whereas before there was ne-
ver

ver any jealousie betwixt the Man and the Wife.

Presb. These are Objections rather of *Passion*, and *Extravagance*, then of *Argument*.

Indep. They are no other then such *Conclusions*, as the *Premisses* will very well bear.

Presb. I have heard indeed of several *Wild*, and *sensless Scruples* charg'd upon the *Independents*: As that they made it a matter of *Religion* to *Piss* abed, and ride *Hobby-Horses*, because it is said, Except ye become as little Children, ye sha'll not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, *Matth.* 18. 3.

Indep. Pray give me leave to requite You with three or four *Presbyterian Scruples*: out of *Bancrofts Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline*, page 368.

Move *Mr. Cartwright*, and some other Our Reverend Brethren to deliver their Judgments, Whether all laying out of Hair be forbidden to all Women: especially at their Repair to the Publick Meetings of the Church?

Pig to Field,
1586.

Ed. Brow. to Field.

A Question riseth in my Mind, Whether one that Professeth Christ truly, may, according to the same Profession, delight in, and use *Hawking*, and *Hunting*; so no Unchristian

christian Behaviour otherwise be joynd therewith.

Let me know your Judgment particularly: Walker to Whether it be in any respect tolerable for Wo- Field. men, that profess Religion, and the Reformation, to Wear Dublets, Little Hats with Feathers: great Gowns after the French, and Outlandish Fashion: Great Ruffles, and Hair, either Curled, or Frisled, or set out upon Wires, and such like Devices.

I would be glad to have your Judgment in Cholm to the Fourth Commandment: Whether the Field. strict Prohibition of not kindling Fire on the Sabbath, be of the Substance of the Moral Precept.

In the same Author you will find a Catalogue of Pleasant Names too. *The Lord is Near. More Tryal. Reformation. Discipline. Joy again. Sufficient. From above. Free Gifts. More Fruit. Dust.* And in the next Page, he tells you of one *Snake* that proceeded toward the *Baptizing* of a Child, till they came to Name it, *Richard*, and then brake off, for fear it would not have prov'd a *Christian*, if he had so Baptized it.

I cannot pass from these Phantastical Absurdities in your Practises, without some Reflection upon those in your Constitution. To say nothing of your Dis-
agreements

Dangerous Positions, p. 104.

Book of
Discipl.
p. 28.

Ibid. 60.

Kings
large De-
claration,
p. 315.

agreements among your selves, about your Officers, and Discipline. What can be more Ridiculous than to Authorize a Cobler to Correct Majesty, Mechanicks to Determine in Points of Faith? Are not your Elders joyn'd in Commission with your Ministers, for the Examination of the Person that offers himself to the Ministry, in all the Chief Points in Controversie betwixt us and the Papists, Anabaptists, Arrians, &c? Are not the Elders, and Deacons fit Persons (think ye) to be made Judges of Theological Niceties; and to Admonish, and Reprove a Minister, that Propones not faithful Doctrine? Has not your General Assembly, rather the Face of a Council of State, then of a Counsel of the Church? (And in Truth the Business too.) Behold the Composition (I beseech ye) of the Pretended Assembly at Glasgow, 1638. Seven Earls, Ten Lords, Forty Gentlemen, And One and Fifty Burgesses, to Determine of Faith, and Church Censures.

Now to take a Brief View of the whole. What greater Slavery in the world, can be imagined, then to live in Subjection to a Government; where you shall have, neither Freedom of Conscience, Law, Person, or Fortune? Where you shall not Speak, Look, Move, Eat, Drink, Dress your self,

self ; Nay , not so much as entertain a *Thought*, but at your *Peril*? And to be in This Bondage too unto the *Meanest*, and most *Insolent* of your *Fellows*? For none but such will ever engage themselves in the Exercise of so Inhumane a Tyranny. And for a further Aggravation of the *Shame*, and *Guilt* of the Faction : Let me desire you, but to cast an eye upon their Proceedings, under King *James* in *Scotland*, and here under Queen *Elizabeth*; where you shall find that they were never so Impetuous, and Bold, as when they found the *King*, and the *State* in Distress, upon the Apprehension of *Forreign Dangers*. And so for the *Queen*, upon the business of *Eighty Eight* : Whereas the *Independents* never so confined themselves to the Prosecution of their *Private Interests*, as to Hazard the Betraying of their *Countrey* to *Forreigners*: And particularly, in the Late Engagements at Sea, against the *French*, and *Dutch*, many of them have given Signal Testimony, and Proof of their Fidelity, and Valour.

I should not have Engross'd This whole Discourse to my self, but in Persuance of a Point, wherein you have Confest beforehand, that you had nothing further to oppose: That is to say, Concerning the *Principles* of the Parties in Question. Nei-

Toleration Discuss'd.

Neither is any thing I have hitherto deliver'd, to be taken as a *Challenge*, and *Claims* of a *Toleration*, of such a *Quality*, as to enter into a *Competition* with the *Peace* and *Security*, of the *Publique*: But This I promise my self, that if it shall appear reasonable to *Authority*, to allow of any *Relaxation*, The *Independents Plea*, upon all Considerations of Common *Equity*, and *Safety*, will stand good against That of the *Presbyterians*,

From whose *Tripple-Crown'd Consistory*; that Lords it Over *Souls, Bodies, and Estates*; Over *Kings, Nobles, and Commons*; Over *Laws, Magistrates*, and all Sorts, and Ranks of *Men*, and *Interests*; That turns *Gospel* into *Law*; *Communities* into *Deserts*; *Men* into *Beasts*;

GOOD LORD DELIVER US.

T H E E N D.



